

The Documentary History and Repertory  
of the  
Lady Elizabeth's Men

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first to provide an amalgamation of the documents pertaining to the Lady Elizabeth's Men playing company that flourished in England from 1611 to 1625. It provides a chronological history based upon empirical evidence gathered from a range of sources such as *Records of Early English Drama (REED)*; *Henslowe's Papers* and the Office Book of Henry Herbert. These documents provide a narrative which allows a consideration of the different facets of the company throughout its existence within the commercial world of Jacobean theatre.

Chapter 1 provides a chronological history of the company based upon the gathered documents; Chapter 2 reconstructs the repertory and considers its nature, whilst Chapter 3 provides a study of the staging requirements of the plays. Consideration is also given to establishing the size of the company necessary to successfully perform the plays, through the construction and analysis of doubling charts. The various groups of personnel behind the company--the players, financiers, writers, and patrons--are considered in Chapter 4, together with a study of the roles they played within the operations of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The various places of playing, and how they bear upon the company's development, are discussed in Chapter 5. The documents at the source of this thesis have been gathered, collated, classified, and arranged in chronological order together with information about their provenance and their bearing upon the company's activities.

## Introduction

This thesis seeks to uncover the working practices and repertory of the playing company known as the Lady Elizabeth's Men, named for Lady Elizabeth Stuart who was the only surviving daughter of James VI/I. The company was formed in 1611 and disappears from the extant official records in 1625. Much of the critical work relating to the study of early modern drama has been author-centric and, within that canon, much of the early work has focussed upon the works of William Shakespeare, or other individual writers. Stepping aside from the personality cult of the author allows a fresh look at the cultural phenomenon that was early modern theatre up until the closing of the commercial playhouses in 1642. In his review of the field of repertory studies, to which this thesis adds, Tom Rutter correctly identifies that concentration on a single playing company allows for the discussion of 'various related topics such as patronage, touring and performance practices, and to combine theatre history, dramatic criticism and textual studies' (Rutter 2008, 342). This approach, looking at the various influences upon a playing company, has been utilised within this thesis whilst focussing upon the working practices of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. By bringing together all these elements a broader picture of what it means to be a successful, or otherwise, theatrical playing company may emerge. An individual study of the Lady Elizabeth's Men is of significance for the field of repertory studies, and early modern theatre history more generally, because the company lacked the advantages of the more well-known companies upon which much scholarship has been focussed. The company encountered many problems throughout its existence, and in looking at how it attempted to overcome them without access to the resources of other companies we see more of how early modern theatre operated. The story of the relatively obscure Lady Elizabeth's Men helps us to get a more comprehensive picture of this industry than we can see from the better-known and better-resourced playing companies.

Over the past 25 years there has been a step in the direction of looking at drama organised by company, rather than by writer. This allows a new perspective as it becomes possible to consider what it is that a company requires in order to produce early modern plays successfully, both critically, and commercially. This approach



allows for theatre historians to develop a sense of how the playing companies organised themselves in all aspects of their operations. Dramatically it is possible to see how plays are selected for a company's repertory, and who selected them for inclusion within that repertory. A company-based approach allows for an examination of a company's relationship with the regulatory authorities who allow the company to perform its plays, and with its patrons and financiers who enable its activities. The evidence exists from the plays within a company's chosen repertory to examine in more depth the resources that a company requires in order to stage a production.

Above all other things, the playing companies of the early modern period were commercial organisations with a profit motive that demanded commercial success; many different people were reliant upon this commercial success for their livelihoods. The playing companies were economic units and it is important to consider this aspect of their operations, as much as it is to consider their dramatic output. In fact, examination of actual performances is difficult as there are few reports of performance available for consideration, whereas many of the records relating to the commercial aspects of the playing companies' operations are available to us through the collective efforts of projects such as *Records of Early English Drama (REED)* which has, since 1978, collected, collated, transcribed, and published early English dramatic records throughout the English counties in what has been described as a 'thorough and systematic archival search' (Douglas and MacLean 2006, 4). The *REED* records tend to be of a financial nature, as financial accountability was the main focus of the recorders of the information. Such empirical evidence, however, does allow one to trace the movements of a playing company around the country, and to establish its financial and cultural worth.

The critical study of play texts can be useful in establishing what it is that a playing company requires in order to operate successfully, but they do not always capture everything that happened on stage, being confined in the most part to simply recording the words that needed to be spoken. Some textual elements within a printed play text, such as stage directions, the noting of stage entrances and exits, and the marking of musical interludes, add into the evidence of what is required for successful staging of a play. However there are elements other than those shown by the play texts that a playing company would require to in order to operate successfully. There is a

need for appropriate players, a place in which to perform, the text itself, and financiers and patrons to provide the means of acquiring these necessities, as well as the additional, and essential, requirement of finding a receptive audience willing to pay for its performances. By the time that the Lady Elizabeth's Men appeared as part of the commercial London playing scene they were entering a developed and mature industry, with various barriers to entry. The company needed to establish a position of its own within this industry. This thesis examines how the Lady Elizabeth's Men forged their own identity within this sector by utilising all of the resources available to it.

Some of the company studies undertaken in recent years have looked at these different aspects of performance and the abilities of companies to perform. Roslyn Knutson's study *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company* (1991) was one of the first to move toward looking at how early modern drama need not simply be studied based upon the texts that a company performed, but by looking at how the company organised itself commercially, so as to be able to perform to an audience. Knutson's study broke new ground by establishing the economic necessities that related to a company, and much of the evidence for the economic data included in her work is derived from the records of Philip Henslowe. The underlying issue with much of the repertory work undertaken to date, and an issue which remains problematic is that much of the work involves using source data which is incomplete, but these imperfect document sets are the only witnesses to the playing practices and repertory of, not only the Lady Elizabeth's Men, but of all the playing companies. Knutson recognised that much of the evidence required to build a complete study of the economic success of any company was in fact no longer available, and that consideration of the success, or otherwise, of the Lord Chamberlain's Men could be achieved through an examination of the repertory. To this end she focusses upon what she calls the 'repertory system and its economics' and how a company's commercial strategy is dictated to a certain extent by the tastes of 'its audience' (Knutson 1991, 6).

The single company study of the Queen's Men by Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth McLean continued Knutson's work. The book has a focus on the touring elements of the company, and uses the *REED* records extensively. The records are used to establish the objective facts about elements of production such as touring and patronage, but the focus is upon the 'basic theatrical characteristics as casting, doubling, staging and

dramaturgy' when they turn their attention towards the texts of the plays (McMillin and MacLean 1998, 98). The focus upon the activities of a company that toured has been influential in developing the work of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Following the model of McMillin and MacLean in their work on the Queen's Men, I have used the records of *REED* and traced the movements of the Lady Elizabeth's Men as they played extensively outside of the capital. Away from London the playing companies operated to a different financial model; instead of taking sharers' portion of performance receipts the companies were paid by the authorities of the cities and towns that they visited. There were no permanent regional playhouses that the playing companies could use meaning that they were mostly limited to the properties provided by the municipal authorities; the *REED* records extensively cover these payments.

McMillin and MacLean's important, and influential, contribution to repertory studies was to extend the methodology for using an examination of doubling practice as part of their consideration of how a playing company operated. The use of doubling charts is important because it provides a basis for estimating the minimum size of a playing company. The linking of repertory to the size of a playing company throughout the different stages of its existence allows us to trace its capacity to stage the most demanding of plays with the biggest cast requirements.

Lucy Munro has added to the study of individual companies with *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre* (2005) where she takes a repertory-based approach, to the history of that particular company. Like others taking a repertory approach, the influence of the writer is of secondary importance to Munro. She considers how the plays of the repertory are not simply the product of the writer but also of 'the ideas and desires of the company's shareholders, licenser, patrons, actors and audience' (Munro 2005, 164–65), following the approach taken by both Knutson, and McMillin and MacLean. By showing how the organisation of the playing company dictates a company's repertory, she demonstrates that the influence of the writers over repertory is in fact a minor contribution. Munro having established the repertory of the Revels company pushes to extend its contribution to establishing, and popularising, the genre of tragicomedy within the London-based commercial playing arena. She also examines audience reception of the plays of the repertory of the Revels company in her consideration of the social class of those drawn to the playhouses using the text of the

plays of the repertory to illustrate her assertion that audiences were not simply divided between higher class audiences at the indoor theatres, with the lower-status citizens at the outdoor playhouses. The evidence that she uncovers from playbooks, such as Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* describing 'silken gulls and ignorant citizens' (2005, 62), points towards the gentry amongst the audience visiting both indoor and outdoor venues, but the movement of the lowlier citizenry does not flow from the cheaper outdoor playhouses to the indoor locations, due to financial pressures of the elevated costs of the indoor venues. The Children of the Queen's Revels was a forerunner company of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and some of its repertory, as well as its players, became part of the necessary infrastructure of the later company. It is possible to extend Munro's argument to the Lady Elizabeth's Men even though the playing model that this company used is very different from that of the itinerant, and sometimes precarious existence of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and is difficult to replicate when examining audience perception of the later company, with its more eclectic range of drama on offer, played in varying locations, over a longer period of time.

Other single company studies include Andrew Gurr's history of the Admiral's Men in *Shakespeare's Opposites* (2009) and *The Shakespeare Company* (2011) both of which continued the expansion into looking at theatre history from a wider angle. Most recently Eva Griffith has concentrated upon the work of the Queen's Men (Anne of Denmark) in *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse* (2013). Focussing on one particular playhouse as it was used by one company does not necessarily widen our understanding of the overall workings of that company.

Andrew Gurr's earlier 1996 book *Shakespearian Playing Companies* does not confine itself to looking at one individual company, and is important within repertory studies for the scholarship that brings together the history of the early-modern playing companies from the 1560s through to 1642 when the professional playhouses were closed down. Gurr's examination of the individual companies in a chronological order gives some perspective upon how the professional theatre industry evolved as a commercial practice. He recognises that the history of such companies is by necessity a work of interpretation, due to the fragmentary nature of the remaining records, but the interpretation of this evidence must be 'anchored' in 'accepted fact' (Gurr 1996, 3). The evidence he relies upon is, like that of Knutson, based upon the objective financial and

licensing records that still exist, and to a lesser extent, the actual texts of the plays themselves. Gurr is able to take an overview of the emerging activities of the playing companies, and draws together one history of the commercial landscape in existence, both before the emergence of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and after its demise. However, due to the overall scope of the task undertaken he is unable to provide complete histories based upon all of the available documentary evidence when looking at individual companies. His history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men looks at the company jointly alongside the Prince's Men; whilst the two companies have similarities, and even some shared history, the merging together of the two provides a confusing narrative of both companies. Gurr also puts forward the proposition that a company might develop a certain unique style that pertains to its repertory, and investigation of the plays that a company performed might give an insight into what this style might be. Part of the aim of this thesis is to investigate whether or not it is possible to see a style unique to the Lady Elizabeth's Men emerge from examining the plays that form the repertory of the company.

These books have all contributed to establishing the history of single playing companies. They take different angles, concentrating on different aspects of the companies upon which they focus, but underlying all of these works is an acknowledgement of the economic realities facing each of the companies, and an inference that playing companies cannot rely upon the success and popularity of a single writer.

The Lady Elizabeth's Men has not previously been the focus of a single company study but has been considered as part of wider works. In *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (1996) Andrew Gurr considered the company alongside the Prince's Men in a single chapter as part of a much wider study of individual playing companies. By locating these 'twin companies' chronologically within the wider history of individual companies he demonstrates the difficulties that new commercial companies encountered when entering what was a mature marketplace. However as part of a wider study, and taken together with an appraisal of the Prince's Men, it cannot consider all aspects of the company and its organisation in any depth.

Siobhan Keenan has included a case study of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in *Acting Companies and their Plays in Shakespeare's London* (2014) where she gives a broad history of the company. Part of her focus is upon the travelling exploits of the playing company, which was not much discussed by Gurr, and is an element of the practice of companies that has been described by Tom Rutter as the 'often marginalised practice of touring' (Rutter 2008, 345). Touring was an important element of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and Keenan's emphasis does much to de-marginalise this. Again, like Gurr's study, Kathleen McLuskie's essay 'Materiality and the Market: the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Challenge of Theatre History' focuses attention upon the working practices of the company and acknowledges that a study of the company allows an example to be given of how evidence from plays and playing can 'illustrate the complex relationships of patronage and commerce, service and entertainment, that characterised the activity of playing companies other than the King's Men in the early years of the seventeenth century' (McLuskie 2009, 432).

This thesis builds upon the work of other scholars to produce a history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men based upon empirical evidence. Using transcriptions of documents that relate to the company, its chronological history has been compiled. A source book of each of these documents has been curated from disparate sources including financial touring records, Henslowe's diaries, and the records of the Revels Office, as well as from editions of plays. This collection of documents relating to the Lady Elizabeth's Men has been put into a standard form, and organised in a chronological manner to aid its use by others. These documents are gathered here in Chapter 6 and necessarily many of them, and the circumstances of their creation, are referred to multiple times across the thesis as they arise within the various different contexts in which the company's history is related.

William Ingram in his introduction to *Early Modern Theatre* asks the question 'is theatre history a form of social or cultural history?' In this thesis the answer to this question is addressed by looking at the objective archival evidence available to us. The empirical evidence that this material encompasses allows for an answer to be formulated. The Lady Elizabeth's Men is a company worthy of extended study in an attempt to answer this question; the exploits of the company are able to show the activities of what might be considered to be a typical playing company. In many ways it

is the ordinariness of the company that makes them worthy of research. History is biased towards the extraordinary as there is a bias to reporting that which we know most about. The best known of the playing companies, the King's Men, provides a poor exemplar of a typical company because it was not reliant upon the patronage of others to provide its playing spaces, nor was it dependent upon a transient, ever changing, group of writers to provide its plays, being able to call upon William Shakespeare or John Fletcher, both sharers of the company, to provide playing materials. The Lady Elizabeth's Men are interesting because they faced challenges that more successful companies, with access to resources, did not, and providing a history of how the company was able to overcome these difficulties and operate as a commercial playing company highlights a fundamental paradox of history. We know more about the history of the extraordinary, for theatre history in the study of Shakespeare and the King's Men, than we do about the mundane. The ordinariness of the history of Lady Elizabeth's Men moves away from looking at the extraordinary and finds a history worthy of note.

#### Chapter 1: The History

Chapter 1 focuses upon the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This is based upon the available documentary evidence, and aims to be an objective narrative. The history necessarily concentrates upon the factual empirical evidence that covers the regulation of, and financial matters as they relate to, the Lady Elizabeth's Men. These sources of information were generated externally to the company by recorders who had nothing to gain from misrepresenting the activities of the company. The nature of the transaction itself is thus reasonably objective. There is no obvious reason to suspect that there is a systematic misrepresentation of their involvement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men given that the documents range both geographically and temporally over the entire lifetime of the company. In a similar way the nature of the evidence from licensing records noting the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men adds to the narrative history of the company.

The gathering of the empirical evidence was a prerequisite to recounting the narrative history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The source materials gathered have been collated in chapter 6, with descriptions and analysis of the documentary material. The source documents by themselves do not form a coherent narrative history, although they are of course the empirical evidence upon which such a history may be based.

Beyond the evidence provided by the stark non-dramatic documents of finance and regulation, evidence exists within the drama performed by the company that aids the telling of the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Printed editions of plays often provide details of the companies performing the plays, the writers who provided them, and the places in which they were performed. All of this information is synergised to provide the chronological history of the company.

## Chapter 2: The Repertory

The focus of Chapter 2 is on establishing and verifying the known repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This means that all the plays that the company performed are considered, whether they be specially written for them, or inherited by them, or acquired by other means. I have surveyed the existing evidence, and made a distinction between primary evidence and secondary evidence. The primary sources of empirical evidence for the plays belonging to the repertory of the company are the diary of Philip Henslowe, the Office Book of Henry Herbert, and printed editions of the plays that give details of the companies that were involved with play performances. This is empirical evidence which has mostly been generated within the lifespan of the company.

The Diary of Philip Henslowe gives repertory evidence through letters received from playwrights. Links between the playwrights and the Lady Elizabeth's Men are established and considered in more detail in Chapter 4, but the letters within the published records of Henslowe's Diary demonstrate how writers negotiated with him over money, and over how plays were introduced to the company.

Henry Herbert's Office Book provides more repertory evidence, but here it is mostly connected with the licensing process that companies were required to go through in order for plays to be authorised for the commercial stage. As a document of control these records are a source of evidence for which the scope for misinterpretation is limited. As with financial information the recorders of documents of the licensing process had nothing to gain from systematic misrepresentation.

Printed editions of plays are also used as they can connect the playing company with a specific play and sometimes a specific playing house. They form a source of primary evidence of a commercial nature, rather than evidence regarding the official control of drama. Playing companies, including the Lady Elizabeth's Men, were



commercial profit-making organisations, and whilst the proceeds of printing enterprises did not necessarily end up in the hands of the company, it is the connection with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as much as with the playwright, that gave these printed editions of plays their commercial value. An unscrupulous printer might use the name of a company which had no connection with the play being printed if he thought it would increase sales, but in general the existence of corroborating evidence such as licensing documents allows us to detect such attempted deceptions.

Secondary evidence is also important to confirming the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The work of others, especially that of Alfred Harbage in *Annals of English Drama* (1964), and the computerised database of *Drama of Early English Performance*, has been an invaluable source of reference, as has been *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue* by Martin Wiggins, although the timing of the publication of the relevant volumes has meant that this resource has only been used to check play attributions to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Harbage's work in attributing repertory to playing companies has been an important work of reference, upon which others have continued to build.

The question of evidence for allocating a play to a particular repertory has been addressed by Roslyn Knutson who when considering the canon of plays belonging to the Chamberlain's Men considered varied sources including, but not confined to, title pages of play editions, entries in the Stationers' Register, the account books of the Offices of the Revels or Chamber, and cast lists published with plays (Knutson 1991, 8–9). The identification of such sources is invaluable to this thesis, but Knutson does not, as I have done within this thesis, analyse the quality of evidence that each of these sources provides.

Having established the core repertory of the company the question of whether or not it is possible to establish a company style that can define performance by a single company is considered. This question is addressed by considering the genres of the plays available to the company, and also by looking for recurring patterns in its plays such as subject matter, the representation of particular character types, and their use of specific properties, or features of the playhouses that it used.

For ease of undertaking this analysis I have divided the repertory into two broad categories: the early repertory and the late repertory. The end of the early repertory is established at the point where the company disappeared from commercial playing in London, with the start of later repertory recognised when the company returned to playing in the capital. Within these broad divisions the plays of the company are considered, and the question of whether or not it is possible to establish a company style is contemplated. To answer this question the genre of plays performed by the company is examined, as is how the individual talents of players affect the choice of plays undertaken by the company.

### Chapter 3: Casting and Staging

Having identified the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, the third chapter concerns the casting and staging requirements of the plays, and the ability of the company to successfully stage them. Each of the plays has been examined in a systematic manner, and the minimum number of players required to perform it has been established. When establishing the number of players required for each play I have also considered character type and formed a view as to how many boy players would be required for each play. This is important as it gives an idea of the composition of the company. Establishing character types also enables conclusions to be drawn about the talents required within the company. From the data generated in this manner it has been possible to estimate the probable size of the company, although the size of the company varied at different stages within the lifespan of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

To establish the individual staging needs of the plays within the repertory each play has been examined to identify any unusual requirements; costuming, make-up and properties were considered, as was their effect upon the staging of the plays.

### Chapter 4: People

A playing company is the sum total of the people who operate within it, and, to a certain extent, those operating within close proximity to it. The roles performed within a company are not confined simply to those of the actors, although they are of course the most visible. A commercial playing company is dependent upon having performers, financiers, playwrights, and patrons to operate efficiently and successfully. Chapter 4

considers how these necessary roles impact upon the company, and identifies key people that fulfil each of these roles.

The evidence for associating specific people with the Lady Elizabeth's Men comes from a variety of sources. The original patent document names only two players, John Townsend and Joseph Moore, but it is possible to detect the names of other players. Payment records, from the local authorities in provincial towns, or the royal court have been most useful here as they often name the payee. The members of the company entrusted to receive payments are usually its more senior members. Names of players have also materialised when the company has fallen foul of regulations resulting in court appearances for which there are records naming the miscreants. Official licences to play name individual players, and often town scribes would list these in their own records.

Without writers, the players would not have material to perform. The writers are often at arms-length to the company, and the reasons for this are considered here. The writers are important because they set the tone for the material to be performed.

## Chapter 5: Places

The Lady Elizabeth's Men operated in a variety of different settings, in different geographical locations. Its geographical spread took the company from Dorset to Northumbria over the course of its entire lifespan. The variety of places it performed in included provincial guildhalls, various royal palaces, and commercial playhouses, both open air amphitheatre playhouses, and the more intimate hall theatres. It also performed in inns and the private houses of local gentry and aristocracy. Consideration is given to how performance spaces became available to the players of the company.

In this chapter, consideration is given to each of the London playing houses with which the company was associated and this looks at how each association was built, and at what stage in its life the playhouse was used. Within the realms of London playing consideration is also given to the entertainment spaces in royal courts which were used by theatrical companies; these were important for the company in establishing and maintaining its credibility as a professional playing company.

Touring formed a large part of the experience of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and this is also considered here. Two types of venues are identified; those that came under the jurisdiction of the local authorities, and those connected with private houses.

## Chapter 6: Documents

Underlying the whole of this thesis is a study of the empirical evidence that exists in relation to the company. In this sixth chapter all of these documents have been collected and collated in chronological order. The selection principle for these documents aims to be all-inclusive in the sense that every surviving document with a verifiable link to the Lady Elizabeth's Men should be present. The relevant documents were found by comprehensive study of all the secondary literature and the extensive searching of databases such as *Patrons and Performance* provided by the Records of Early English Drama project.

The primary principle that allows a document to be included in this section is that the document must include the name of the company, or players, financiers, writers, or patrons with known links to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. For the case of documents which mention only playhouses, inclusion has been based upon dates when the company was known to operate in a specific playhouse, and upon other corroborating documentation such as licensing records.

This curated source book of documents is unique; it is the only collection that brings together all of the documents that can tell the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Each source is considered and its relevance to the history of the company is explained. This source book is referenced throughout the thesis so that a transcript of a document relating to the company may be consulted at the point it is considered. The range of documents is varied and covers financial records, court records, texts of plays, letters, and legal documents.

These documents, or extracts from larger documents, are the foundation upon which the narrative history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men may be deduced and told.

# Chapter 1: The Narrative History of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

## **The History**

The origins of the Lady Elizabeth's Men are somewhat obscure, but there is a trail of documentary evidence available that is able to enlighten, and inform, us about their activities in the performing world of commercial playing between 1611 and 1625. Many of the first records that are available to us are payment records from provincial towns which suffer from the imprecise nature of seventeenth century bookkeeping. Frequently, instead of noting a specific payment date, the recorded payments were noted in a list that covered a period of time. Whilst the entries on the lists may have been made as payments were made, meaning that the first entries on such a tally were the earliest ones paid, they often do not give precise dating information. There is an additional difficulty in relying upon payment dates, as there is no guarantee that they were the same as performance dates. Despite these difficulties, it is possible, by looking at a range of dates, to get a feel for the movements of the company around the country. It is from records of this type that we see the first evidential existence of the Lady Elizabeth's Men when the company appeared in Bath at some time between 14 October 1610 and 9 October 1611 (ref 001). The company can be more precisely placed in time when it was paid by the mayoral office of Canterbury who were more specific and precise in their bookkeeping practices than the Bath officials, and showed a payment date of 11 April 1611 for the payment to the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 002).

The payments made in the towns of Bath and Canterbury indicate a company touring under the patronage of Lady Elizabeth Stuart, the young daughter of James VI/I. That this particular company using this name was an authorised royal company is seen in the licensing document of 27 April 1611 (ref 003). The licence is included in the Patent Rolls and authorised two previously unknown players, John Townsend and Joseph Moore, to undertake playing 'with the rest of their Companie'. The wording of the patent for the Lady Elizabeth's Men followed the wording of the patents for the earlier-established companies patronised by the other royal children, the Duke of York's players and Prince Henry's Men. There are however two differences of note; the patent for Lady Elizabeth's players does not include tragedies in the list of genres that it was

entitled to play, which appears to be an oversight on the part of the scribe. The other notable difference is that whilst the patent for Prince Henry's players names a specific London playing house, the Fortune, both the Duke of York's and Lady Elizabeth's players were expected to play 'in such vsuall howses as themselues shall provide' (ref 003). The omission of the provision of a playing house of its own was to prove an ongoing difficulty for the company and shaped the way in which the company operated throughout its existence. The matter of playing outside of the capital was also addressed by the patent. The document recorded in the Revels Rolls was addressed to 'all Iustices Maiors Sheriffs Bailiffs Constables hedborroughes and other our loving Subjects and officers' (ref 003), in other words, the civic officers of the towns. This would have opened up those civic places over which these officers had jurisdiction to provide suitable playing spaces for travelling companies; the patent goes on to list 'anie Towne halls mootehalles Guyldhalls Schoolehowses or other convenient places within the libtye and freedome of anie other Cittie vniu'sitie Towne or Burroughe whatsoeuer within our Realmes and Domynions' (ref 003). Throughout the history of the company we see records that confirm the Lady Elizabeth's Men played throughout the country in these types of civil locations.

Not only did the Lady Elizabeth's Men suffer from having to find its own playing spaces in London, it seems to have suffered from a general lack of financial capital, which would have prevented it from acquiring the elements that it required, in order to successfully produce plays. Shortly after the granting of the company's patent John Townsend and Joseph Moore entered into a bond for £500 from Philip Henslowe (ref 004). This provided the company with necessary capital but also gave Henslowe a degree of control over its activities. The bond also names ten other players, giving a total of twelve adult players to form the basis of the company, so whilst not having the material goods necessary for performance, there was a body of players ready to perform.

The company's main form of remuneration would have been payments for performance, whether at court, the commercial playing spaces of London, or in the provinces. Their royal status would have had some influence over their status for the latter two venues. The way that the company's remuneration was recorded by the civic

authorities of these towns gives an indication of the standing of the company. During the period 1 November 1611 to 31 October 1612 the players headed up a list of payments to playing companies recorded in the Chamberlains' account book for Coventry (ref 006). The record shows that the Lady Elizabeth's Men were in receipt of £4, a sum considerably greater than that received by the other companies listed. This suggests that the company either played for a longer period, or were simply remunerated with more money. The reasoning behind either of these scenarios lies in the perceived higher status of the Lady Elizabeth's Men which was the only company carrying royal patronage within this particular playing period in Coventry. As a royal company it commanded more money, or its presence in the town was more desirable, meaning that it stayed for a longer period.

The patent shows that one of the obligations of being a royal company was that the Lady Elizabeth's Men had to make itself available at Court for the king's 'solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them' (ref 003). This is a clause that was common in patents recorded in the early years of James I's tenure of the English throne. The first extant court record that shows the Lady Elizabeth's Men performing this duty is found in the Chamber Account for 1612 (ref 008). The court records suffer from the same problem as the provincial civic records in that their purpose is principally that of being a record of financial accountability, and not a performance history document; as such they do not always refer to a specific performance date, and where the performance dates can be ascertained, the payment dates were frequently months after the company's appearance at court. The details about the Lady Elizabeth's Men in this instance unusually provide information as to performance dates, what was played, and who collected the fee on behalf of the company. On both 19 January 1612 and 11 March 1612 the company played before Prince Henry, Prince of Wales and Lady Elizabeth (ref 007); this would make the January performance the first time that the company played in front of its patron. There is no documented evidence for whom the company played on Shrove Tuesday, 26 February 1612 but we know that the play performed was known as *The Proud Maid* (ref 008); unfortunately this record is incomplete and there is no extant play with this precise name although there are two possible candidates. *The Maid's Tragedy* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, and Thomas Middleton's *The Maiden's Tragedy* were originally written for the King's Men,

but both were written by playwrights that had later links with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. It is possible that *The Proud Maid* referred to in the court records could have been one of these plays. George Buc referred to Middleton's play as 'the second maid's tale' in his records thus placing a potential first playing date of not later than 1611 for both of them. By 1612 either of these plays could be the court play *The Proud Maid*, which by then could have moved to repertory of the new Lady Elizabeth's Men. The court records give some further details about the personnel of the company. Both of the entries relating to the court performance of *The Proud Maid* in the Chamber records show that the company's playing fee was paid to Alexander Foster who was one of the signatories to the deed signed with Henslowe.

These first court performances were followed by a period travelling outside the capital. The records indicate a period in Kent; first in Faversham where a specifically dated record exists for 7 April 1612 (ref 009) and then again in Dover during the period 8 September 1611 to 8 September 1612 (ref 011). A precisely dated document from York on 13 August 1612 suggests that the company would not have been in Kent for the latter two months of the payment period due to the distance between the two towns thereby narrowing the window of playing opportunity (ref 010). The York record is interesting because for the first time it shows the company presenting a copy of its licence to the city authorities and demonstrates the importance of having received it in the first place. However, it also shows some of the limitations that the company encountered whilst on its travels; despite the wide-ranging instruction that it was allowed to play 'in all moote halls skoolhowses towne halles within any other Citties or townes within his maiesties dominions'(ref 003) the York authorities refused to permit playing on the Sabbath or at night.

The financial records are those most readily available to us but following the progress of the company as it built its reputation is hampered by the differing periods of account of many of the records. Despite the variety of recording periods used it is possible to piece together the records to investigate the movements of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Looking at one of the first years in which the company was active we can trace the geographic spread of its activities, even where it is not possible to locate it in a specific place on a specific date. The company was paid for one performance in



Dover sometime in the period 8 September 1612 to 8 September 1613 (ref 011), for a performance in Shrewsbury in the twelve months to 28 September 1613 (ref 012), and for a performance in Coventry between 1 November 1612 and 31 October 1613 (ref 013). These performances occurred in a period of just over a year that spans 8 September 1612 to 3 October 1613. Within this period the company also played in Bristol between 26 December 1612 and 25 March 1613 (ref 014) and appeared at court on three separate occasions (refs 019; 035). Such records as these can give some indication of the geographical movement and spread that was covered whilst the company travelled. The Lady Elizabeth's Men, probably as a sensible commercial decision, gravitated towards those towns that were known to support travelling players. Coventry was a popular destination for travelling players, and the payment list for this period shows that other royal companies such as the Queen's Men were attracted to the city. Shrewsbury was an important town and the Booth Hall in the market square was a venue that had attracted players throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Royal events can help us link to the activities of the company. The marriage of Lady Elizabeth to Frederick V, Elector Palatine was one of these occasions. They were betrothed on 26 May 1612, and Frederick subsequently came to England in October 1612. Shortly after his arrival the Lady Elizabeth's Men played before Elizabeth on 20 October 1612, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, presumably as part of the celebrations of the betrothal (Astington 1999, 245). Henry, Prince of Wales unexpectedly fell ill and died shortly after the arrival of Frederick leading to the postponement of the planned wedding between the couple whilst the court undertook period of mourning. When the postponed wedding finally took place in February 1613 court entertainment played a large part in the general celebrations of the marriage. Court records show that the gentlemen and ladies of the court took part in Thomas Campion's *The Lords Masque* on 14 February 1613, the actual date of the marriage ceremony, before the king, Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in the Banqueting House at Westminster (Astington 1999, 247). The involvement of the playing company patronised by the princess came later in the celebrations when it performed the play *The Dutch Courtesan* (Marston 1605), referred to by its popular name of *Cockle de Moye*, on 25 February 1613; this was followed with a performance of *Raymond Duke of Lyons* on 1 March 1613. It is

again the payment records that verify these performances and also serve to identify who from the company received the emolument; in these instances payment was made to Joseph Taylor 'for him self and the rest of his Company' (ref 019). Taylor was one of the signatories to the Henslowe bond in 1611 (ref 004) and so had probably been with the company since its inception.

Following the court performance the company was seen once again in the provinces as it received a payment of £2 made on 19 April 1613 for a performance in Norwich (ref 022), and a payment was recorded in Bristol in the quarter to 25 March 1613 (ref 014), although this does not fit so easily with the dates recorded at court as the company had not completed its court duties in relation to the wedding between Elizabeth and Frederick. The playing company followed the couple as they journeyed through Kent on their way to meet transport to take them across the channel on their way to Heidelberg where Frederick had his palace, and the couple were to live. Various town records from Kent at this time show a series of payments to the players and many of the records also show the significant preparations that the towns made in order to meet the royal couple and their entourage. The company can be identified in Faversham on 6 June 1613 (ref 030); Canterbury on 4 July 1613 (ref 036). The town authorities at Canterbury had made many preparations in anticipation of the arrival of the royal couple (ref 023) ranging from payments for a flag to hang on the tower 'to knowe when the wynd dyd shyft well/for the palsgrave and the lady Elizabeth his wyf might take shipping at Margate' and arrangements for a ceremony to welcome the couple and the Duke of York to the city (ref 023). The royal visit to Canterbury at this time was eventful with payment being necessary to 'ffenner Iester to the lady Elizabeth the xxth of April 1613 towards losse of his clothes and money whereof he said he was here robbd' (ref 023). The proximity of the payments to the company and the preparations for the royal visit strongly suggest that when the company performed in the city it did so in front of their patron. A payment was made on 10 July 1613 for a performance in Dover which would fit in with the general movements around this time of both the company and the Lady Elizabeth's travel to the coast for a ship to get across the channel (ref 037). A similar payment in the Chamberlain's accounts for Maidstone for an unspecified date within the year to 2 November 1614 also ties in with the company

being active in the area as the princess and her husband progressed towards their point of departure in Kent (ref 045).

Following the departure of the royal couple the Lady Elizabeth's Men moved towards the Welsh borders where it appeared once again in Shrewsbury (ref 049), and possibly in Leominster (ref 042). The Shrewsbury payment helps to more finely date the appearance at Leominster as its geographical proximity would suggest that both visits could have taken place around the more specific date of the Shrewsbury performance.

The profile of the company must have been raised during the marriage year of their patron. This increased profile would have led to more playing opportunities for the company, but would also have led to a requirement for additional capital and resources. The company had to turn to outside sources in order to raise the necessary funds to finance the expansion of their activities. At some point during 1613 the company, through the agency of Nathan Field, signed Articles with Philip Henslowe and Jacob Meade (ref 015). Field was a new addition to the company at this time, having previously been a player with the Children of the Queen's Revels. Field was not the only member of the Lady Elizabeth's Men to have been connected with the Revels company; William Barksted and Giles Cary, both signatories to the earlier Henslowe bond, had previous connections to this company. Whilst the 1613 document does not name the Lady Elizabeth's Men directly the link between the company and Field is retrospectively established in 1614 when Field is named in a later document (ref 068) alleging grievances against Henslowe for his perceived mismanagement of the company. The 1613 Articles signed by Field show that Henslowe and Meade agreed, for a period of three years, to take on the task of providing a London base for the company and also provide properties and costumes for the players. The Articles were effectively a management agreement between the company and Henslowe and Meade, who controlled access to the playhouses that they owned. Up until this point the Lady Elizabeth's Men had not had dependable continual access to a commercial playing house in London. By the time the company performed Thomas Middleton's play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (Middleton 1630) Henslowe had provided them with the use of the Swan Theatre (ref 168). The first performance of the play was suggested at between 1611 and 1613 by Alfred Harbage, but more recent scholarship recorded by

*Database of Early Modern English Playbooks (DEEP)* dates the play to 1613 (Farmer and Lesser 2007). This suggests that the agreement between the players and Henslowe and Meade must have been towards the later part of 1613, with the performance of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* in the earlier part of the year as Henslowe would have been disinclined to agree for the players he was supporting to work at a rival playhouse. Henslowe had also agreed a contract with the builder Gilbert Katherens on 29 August 1613 to build the Hope theatre, on the site of the bear-baiting pit known as Bear Gardens, which further suggests that the signing of the agreement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men was also around this date with the newly commissioned playhouse being a potential home for the newly signed up company (ref 041).

During 1613 there is a series of letters from various playwrights to Philip Henslowe where the writers negotiated payment and delivery dates for plays. The main correspondent was Robert Daborne who can be linked to the Lady Elizabeth's Men through Nathan Field. Daborne and Field, with Philip Massinger wrote to Henslowe in 1613 (ref 016) asking for the £10 owed to them on a play to be paid so that they could be released from gaol where they were held until they could pay for their release. This letter also confirmed that Field played for the company, as he complained that whilst imprisoned he was unable to play, and he suggested that this would result in financial loss for Henslowe. Another letter from Field also confirmed him to be a sharer, as he promised to not take his share until he had repaid the loan that he had requested from Henslowe (ref 017). Whilst the majority of the letters from Daborne concern requests for payment in advance, and apologies and excuses for work not being finished, specific letters mention plays by name which were to be performed by the company, once they had been delivered. Daborne, whilst writing for the company, was doing so on a free-lance basis, and not as a member of the company, as can be seen by his threats to take plays to other companies if Henslowe did not pay him as he requested (ref 043). The letters also show the internal workings of an active company, and the relationship between Henslowe and those supported by him. Additionally the letters provide indirect evidence of how the company operated, or prepared to operate commercially in London. The series of letters show that Henslowe had taken up the role of management and procurer of plays for the company, although the datings of the various letters and the management agreement are vague enough that it cannot be certain whether the

procurement or the agreement came first. Henslowe's acquisition of newly written plays suggests that he wished for the company to have current plays for performing commercially, even though the building of the Hope was not completed until October 1614.

Following the period of touring the company returned to London to fulfil their court obligations for the Christmas festivities at court. Despite having new plays available it performed John Marston's play *The Dutch Courtesan*, on 12 December 1613 (ref 053) and *Eastward Ho* (Chapman, Jonson, and Marston 1605) on 25 January 1614 (ref 057); both plays were from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels, a company that had been associated with at least three members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The reasoning behind playing old plays can only be guessed at; *The Dutch Courtesan* had been performed as part of the wedding celebrations of the Lady Elizabeth so the company may well have been repeating a play that had previously been well received, but *Eastward Ho*, when it had first been performed in 1605 by the Children of the Queen's Revels had caused such outrage, because of a perceived insult to King James, that the playwrights were imprisoned. The initial reason for outrage must have diminished by the time the Lady Elizabeth's Men played at court because the king is recorded as being in the audience so obviously was no longer offended by it. Once again Joseph Taylor presented himself at court to receive payment on the company's behalf.

The 1613 Christmas court season was followed by more provincial touring. The company headed to Norwich where it found that, despite having performed there previously, it was not so warmly welcomed. Playing companies often had difficult relationships with the authorities of the towns in which they wished to perform and the incident in Norwich bears witness to this. On 2 March 1614 Nicolas Longe was identified for this first time as being part of the company; he was amongst a party from the company that, instead of asking for permission to play, asked instead for the freedom of the city on the basis that the company already held authorisation to play from the king. It would appear that Longe was carrying an exemplification, or a copy, of the original royal patent as proof of the company's permission to play (ref 058). Although the authorities refused the company permission to play it went ahead with

performances anyway. There was civil disorder at the performances which the Norwich authorities used as an excuse to resurrect old legislation from 10 February 1589 (ref 060) to order to prevent the town's citizens from attending play performances. In the reporting of the incident Joseph Moore, one of the original patentees was identified as a member of the company re-emphasising his position as a leader of the company (ref 060). There is little other surviving evidence of the company's touring activities during 1614 other than payment for a performance in Rye in Sussex on 21 May 1614 (ref 063).

Despite the paucity of travelling records for 1614 other theatrical records exist that show some of the working of the company. The player Robert Dawes who had been a member of Prince Charles's Men up until this point signed an agreement with Philip Henslowe and Robert Meade early in 1614 (ref 062). The articles tied Dawes to working with a company specified by Henslowe and Meade for a period of three years and granted him a whole share in that company. The document also shows some of the everyday conditions under which players were engaged and specified a comprehensive system of fines for occasions when he was unable to attend rehearsals or play, whether 'overcome with drinck' or with 'just excuse of sicknes.' The fines extended to the wearing of the company's stage costumes after performances which raises the question of to whom such clothing actually belonged. In the management agreement with Nathan Field (ref 015) a clause had been inserted to say that Henslowe and Meade would provide the apparel for the company out of old stock, and out of purchases during the term of the agreement so the clause included in the contract with Dawes is consistent with this claim of ownership.

By October 1614 the building of Henslowe's Hope playhouse was completed; it is documented as being the performance space for Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* by the 1631 quarto of the play which identified the Lady Elizabeth's Servants on the title page, named the Hope as the playing venue (ref 174), and the 'Induction' to the play gave the date of the first public performance as 31 October 1614 (ref 065). Placing the company at the Hope in 1614 provides a verifiable link between it and Philip Henslowe, who in partnership with Jacob Meade had commissioned the building of the Hope during 1613 on the site of the Bear Gardens; it is perhaps with the building of the Hope in mind that Henslowe and Meade went ahead with the signing of the Articles with Field in 1613.

Henslowe had specified in the contract with Katherens that the playhouse was to be built so that the stage could be removed to allow for bear-baiting when plays were not being performed. This dual use of the playhouse was alluded to in the induction of the play where it was compared with Smithfield market and described as being ‘as dusty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit’ (ref 065). The joint use of the playhouse was a matter that became a cause of contention between the Lady Elizabeth’s Men and Philip Henslowe in the following year. Whether or not the smells associated with bear and bull-baiting had permeated the space so close to the opening of the new theatre, or whether the ‘Articles of Agreement’ in which the ‘stink’ was referred to were written after the event, by which time the full effect of dual playing was apparent, is open to speculation.

The staging of *Bartholomew Fair* demonstrates another characteristic of early modern playing practice in connection with court playing. It is known that the play was performed in front of the king on the 1 November 1614, the day following the first performance at the Hope (ref 067). It seems to have been the company’s common practice to perform plays at court that were old favourites, familiar to the players, and to the court; this was the first time that it was seen performing a new play at court, although the play had been previewed in front of a commercial audience first. In this way a symbiotic relationship was formed between the two modes of playing with the commercial performance providing rehearsal space for new plays but the royal patronage providing a status for the company that could help to attract an audience and even new players or writers.

Despite Henslowe’s providing the Hope playhouse for the company’s London-based commercial activities the sharers lodged a grievance against Henslowe in 1615 for alleged mismanagement and financial irregularities (ref 068). The document referred back to activities in 1613 and the terms of the agreement signed between Field on behalf of the players, and Henslowe and Meade. The complaints raised against Henslowe surrounded the continued use of the Hope as a bear-baiting venue one day in every two weeks; the company maintained that Henslowe was in default of his original agreement to pay the company in full for these days (ref 068). Further allegations against Henslowe were incorporated into the document.

Following the grievance against Henslowe the Lady Elizabeth's Men were not seen again in London in a commercial capacity until 1622. Having no stable London base meant that the company needed to concentrate upon regional playing, although it did still make occasional appearances at court. The provincial travelling and playing undertaken by the Lady Elizabeth's Men was not without incident. A confrontation between Thomas Barrowes, a Coventry clothworker, and an unidentified member of the company led to court action in March 1615 after which the player was accused of insulting the whole town with the slur that 'you are such people in this Towne so peevish that you would have your throats cutt' (ref 069). The company had presented a copy of a patent dated 31 May 1613 as its authority to play, and the town scribe had recorded the names of all the players with the company at that time. This allows the opportunity to compare the number of players who signed the August 1611 bond with Henslowe (ref 004) against the players listed in this later court action. By 1615 the Lady Elizabeth's Men had fourteen named members, as opposed to twelve at the earlier date, but of these some have been identified as boys, and so were not sharers, or full members, of the company (ref 069). By this later date, of the original players, only John Townsend and Joseph Moore remained, but by this time they were recognised as the leaders of the company. Despite the problems encountered in Coventry the company continued to move around the country. When it arrived in Norwich in April 1615 despite its presentation of an exemplification, or official copy, of the 1611 patent the town authorities placed restrictive playing conditions upon the players so as to constrain the company to playing only upon two days. This copy was of the original patent signed by Townsend and Moore and predates the patent presented just one month earlier to the authorities in Coventry. The presentation of two separately dated patents within such a short time span suggests that the players were travelling with two documents, or that the company had somehow divided into two factions, and that it was travelling with different documentation. By the following year the difficulties at Coventry had been resolved, and the company was once again given permission to play; it appeared upon a payment list where alongside the Queen's players they were the highest paid company at that time (ref 074). However, in contrast to the company's new found acceptance at Coventry, the players found that there had been a reversal of fortune in Norwich where, instead of being given permission to play, it was paid to desist from playing (ref 079).



During the period 16 November 1615 to 6 February 1616 evidence of a performance in a domestic setting is seen for the first time; the household records of private houses do not survive in the same numbers as those of civic authorities but the Walmsley family of Dunkenhalth in Lancashire record the appearance of the company during this time (ref 075) and again during Christmas celebration in 1616 (ref 090). The Walmsleys of Dunkenhalth had links to London society initially through Sir Thomas Walmsley who was a prominent member of parliament and judge and had been knighted by James in 1603. In 1613 when Sir Thomas died his son, also Thomas Walmsley, inherited his estates and it would have been the later Thomas Walmsley that invited the company to perform at Dunkenhalth in 1615.

During 1617 James I made a return visit to Scotland; this was to be the only time that James returned to the country following his accession to the English throne. The Lady Elizabeth's Men must have accompanied him for some of his journey as the 'Payments to Players' in the Court Records show a payment made to John Townsend and Joseph Moore for 'actinge three severall playes before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in his Journey towards Scotland' (refs 084; 085). This is an example of a royal performance that did not necessarily take place in court. It is likely to have taken place in one of the noble houses that entertained the king on his way to Scotland. Other playing locations outside of London can be identified during 1617. The company was active in Leominster during the year to 28 September 1617 (ref 080). A more precise dating for performance can be given to performances in Norwich from 9-11 June 1617 where Henry Sebeck presented the earlier of the two patents and the company was allowed to play in 'the tyme formerly giuen to Lee & his Company' (ref 083); this is the first time that Sebeck appears in any of the documentary records of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, who were the only playing company with which he has so far been connected (Nungezer 1929, 313). The appearance of Lee in the Norwich record shows that the Queen's Men had arrived in the city before the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and had presented a copy of its licence, after which it was given permission to play at Powles House (Galloway 1984, 150–51). Between the appearance of Lee for the Queen's Men and Sebeck for the Lady Elizabeth's Men, Joseph Moore, of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, arrived in Norwich with a letter from William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that made the accusation that some playing companies were travelling with false patents (Galloway 1984, 151). Herbert's

letters specifically named the Queen's Men, Children of the Queen's Revels, and the Palatine's Men and ordered that the mayor of Norwich confiscate the false licences and place the presenting players under a bond to appear before Herbert to explain their use of duplicate patents. Moore's presentation of this particular document added credibility and authority to Henry Sebeck when he presented the patent from the Lady Elizabeth's Men; the players were not listed as transgressors of the correct use of patents, and Moore had been connected with the company since its inception. The Lady Elizabeth's Players were subsequently given the dates that the Queen's Men were expecting to use which would have permitted playing at Powles House, a public house otherwise known as The Red Lion (ref 083).

The recording of payments cannot always coincide with the actual playing date as there is insufficient time for the company to move between venues; this is seen with payments made towards the end of 1617. The geographical locations of Coventry and Exeter are such that it is hard to envisage how the company could travel through the winter to enable performances in Coventry on 12 December 1617 (ref 087) followed by Exeter on 18 December (ref 088). However, the payment made in Exeter was for a dismissal, and it would not be necessary for the whole company to be present when the payment was made. It is possible that the disparity in fee collection dates could simply arise because there was just one member of the company, or a representative for it, travelling and collecting at a later date. Patents were presented by only one, or two members of the company, so it is conceivable that these players could travel on ahead to arrange future performances. Following the Exeter dismissal the company made its way back to Dunkenhall where it performed for the Walmsley family on 19 January 1618 (ref 090) presumably as part of the family's Christmastide celebrations.

The players returned to Kent during 1618 where they received payment in Hythe on 27 April (ref 092), and Dover on 16 May 1618 (ref 093). Payments were also received in Folkestone and New Romney, but again the recording practices mean that we can only allocate the potential performance dates to a span of time, with Folkestone at some point during the year to 8 September 1618 (ref 086) and the New Romney appearance in the year to 25 March 1619 (ref 091). It is the geographical proximity to Hythe and Dover that suggests that these performances could have taken place close

during the spring of 1618. The known Kent performances of the spring of 1618 were followed by a week in Norwich during May 1618 where John Townsend presented a licence on behalf of the company. This document was dated 20 March 1617 and according to Norwich record keeper was signed and sealed by the king and included the names of four of the players. The recorded members were Townsend and Joseph Moore, who were by now both well-established founder members of the company; Alexander Foster was also named. Again he was a long-established member of the company having been associated with it since, at the latest, the signing of the 1611 bond with Henslowe; and with the presentation of this document Francis Wambus appeared in the record of the company for the first time. Given the circumstances of the company's previous visit to Norwich in June 1617 where duplicate patents and companies had been an issue this newly presented document, the third one attached to the company, states clearly that there is 'but one Company as Sevantes to the Lady Elizabeth lycensed or permitted to play' (ref 094). This document, according to the terms noted by the Norwich scribe, was also prescriptive about the length of time for which the company was permitted to play outside of London, allowing it 'of xiiij<sup>en</sup> dayes at any one tyme in the yeare in any other Citty' (ref 094). This is in contrast to the initial 1611 licence which, whilst it allowed the Lady Elizabeth's Men to play outside of London, was silent about the length of time that it would be allowed. Under the terms of the new licence the Norwich authorities gave the company leave to play for 'the next whole weke & no longer' but went on to insist that the company promised not to return again for a whole year.

Norwich playing was followed by a visit to Carlisle in the summer of 1618 between 24 June 1618 and 12 September 1618 (ref 095); Carlisle, on the Scottish borders, is the most northerly town for which evidence exists that it visited. The company returned further south to Coventry by 4 January 1619, where it must have been part of Christmas civic entertainment (ref 098), and from here it travelled to Ludlow where its name appeared in the Chamberlains' Accounts on 16 January 1619. There was a return visit to Ludlow later in the year on 23 August 1619 (ref 101); this is the first example of a return to a provincial town within a year. In between the Ludlow dates the company appeared again in Norwich on 1 May 1619 where John Townsend again presented the patent of 20 March 1619 (ref 099). The second Ludlow visit on 23

August fits neatly with a recorded visit to Leominster in the year to 28 September 1620 (ref 100), if the Leominster performances were at the beginning of this time span, with the two towns only some 10 to 15 miles apart it would have been easy to move between the two locations. In a period where the Lady Elizabeth's Men seems to have travelled from Carlisle, through the Midlands, the Welsh marches, and to Norwich in the east, it also seems to have found time to fit in a performance that took it to the most southerly of its recorded performance locations in Plymouth where the company 'had the Kings hand for playing as well by night as by day' (ref 096).

At the beginning of February 1620 Joseph Moore presented the April 1611 patent in Norwich on behalf of the company and was given leave to play (ref 102). Subsequently some doubt must have arisen over the legitimacy of Moore's claim to the patent when just a few months later in May Francis Wambus presented the March 1617 patent and reported that Moore 'hath not played *with* them this last yeare, & that the said moore nowe kepeth an Inn in Chichester' (ref 103). The location of Moore in Kent does however give a credible reason for why so many of the company's activities took place in this region.

The company, in one form or another, must have travelled throughout the rest of the year as it was again in Carlisle at sometime between 25 May 1620 and 28 September 1620 (ref 104); presumably this must have been towards the beginning of the payment period as by 4 October 1620 it was in Kent for a performance at Hythe (ref 107). One explanation for the seemingly vast geographical spread of the company's activities is that the various licences the company held were divided between different branches of the company, with Wambus travelling under the 1617 licence, and Townsend using the original licence dated 1611. Whether or not this division of licences was agreed between the two men is open to speculation, but later in the company's history the two men are seen working together again which suggests a continuing relationship, rather than an antagonistic division of the company.

A division of the company would seem to be the only way that it could be in Bristol between 30 September and 25 December 1620 (ref 106), back in Lancashire for performances at Dunkenhalth on 2 January (ref 110), and Coventry by 5 January (ref 111). The distance between Lancashire and Coventry would prohibit transfer of a full

company during the winter in such a short space of time. This time period is also further muddled by an entry in the Treasurer's account for Sandwich, Kent which has an entry that is placed between 4 December 1620 and 13 March 1621 by the database of *Records of Early Drama: Patrons and Performances* but the dating given by the transcription of this record is considered to be indeterminate by James Gibson (ref 108) (Gibson 2002, 862). An additional record for 1621 places the company in Norwich on 2 May when John Townsend again presented the patent dated 20 March 1617, which had previously been in the hands of Francis Wambus. Additional details about the licence were recorded by the Norwich scribe who noted that that the company was 'authorised to play Commodies &c' and again named Alexander Foster, Joseph Moore and Francis Wambus on the patent (ref 111). The authorities recognised the patent but they still refused the company leave to play on account of Townsend being the only named player actually present, and the fact that they deemed that they were too busy to allow entertainment because 'the businesses for Subsedyes & other matters of Importance are not yet fully dispatched' (ref 111).

By 1622 the company once again had a London base. After the London performance of *Bartholomew Fair* at court on 1 November 1614, and before 1622 there are no verifiable recorded commercial London performances for the company, although as shown above the company was prominent in regional playing. Their return to London came with the re-establishment of the Phoenix playhouse. Originally a gaming cockpit had been converted into an indoor playhouse, known as the Cockpit, by Christopher Beeston in 1616, but, following Easter rioting in 1617, the playhouse was burned down by apprentices; upon its re-establishment by Beeston the playhouse became commonly known as the Phoenix. The Lady Elizabeth's Men can be confirmed as the resident company of the Cockpit/Phoenix in Drury Lane by 1622 by an entry in Herbert's Office Book; N.W. Bawcott describes the entry as showing there to be 'five principal companies of comedians in London' at the time, among which was 'the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are sometimes denominated, the Queen of Bohemia's Men' (Bawcutt 1996, 136). The extant historical record shows that it had only been referred to in this way once previously, in Kendal (ref 097), although the name starts to be interchangeable with the Lady Elizabeth's Men once the company was established at the Phoenix. The entry in Herbert's Office Book also names the 'chief' players at the

Cockpit/Phoenix at this time as being 'Christopher Beeston, Joseph More, Eliard Swanson, Andrew Cane, Curtiss Greville, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner' (ref 114) showing that Beeston not only owned, and managed the playhouse but also seems to have appeared for the Lady Elizabeth's Men as a player. With the exception of Joseph Moore, who appears to have come out of his Kent retirement for the re-establishment of the company in London, this list of players shows a new collection of men operating under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This strengthens the argument that there were at least two troupes working under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, with the established, or perhaps by then the less-fashionable, players remaining with the travelling 'branch' of the company, and the newer, more innovative players, with the new plays, remaining in London. The problem with this model is that with two branches of the company, one being London-based, and the other being peripatetic, directly contravenes the terms of the March 1617 patent documented in Norwich; although Henry Herbert continued to license plays for the London-based company the assumption can be made that this arrangement was one that did not bother the Master of the Revels.

The recorded history of the company's time at the Cockpit/Phoenix is characterised by entries in the Office Book of Henry Herbert and so is mainly concerned with the licensing of new plays for performance. The nature of the evidence suggests that the series of new plays coincided with their return to London in 1622, but there is nothing to suggest that their period of playing in the provinces did not include new plays. To the contrary, their performance in Norwich (discussed above) shows that the company was travelling with new plays during this period. However with a static London base, and a captive, and perhaps returning, audience there was a need for more variety within the repertory to satisfy the audience. The Revels' records for 1622 show three new plays registered in close succession within a period of a month with Middleton and Rowley's play *The Changeling*, licensed on 7 May 1622, the now lost play *The Black Lady*, licensed 10 May 1622, and *The Valiant Scholar* which was licensed on 3 June 1622, (refs 116-117). However some of the evidence linking plays to the company arising from Henry Herbert's Office Book is circumstantial, and comes from secondary sources that only report what would have been in Herbert's records. A case in point is the attribution of *The Changeling* to the company; a note on the flyleaf

of Edmond Malone's copy of the quarto read 'licensed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants at the Phoenix, May 1622' (Bentley 1941, 1:183).

Even with the re-establishment of London playing the touring activities of the company continued over a wide geographical spread, again suggesting that there was more than one group of players purporting to be operating under the name of Lady Elizabeth. The Cheshire records show that the company was in Congleton early in 1622 (ref 115), and by May of 1622 had headed south-east again to Norwich where payment was received when it 'as by warrant appeareth' (Galloway 1984, 168). However, further investigation shows that the company had in fact been denied permission to play in the city; the Mayors' Court book has an entry dated 11 May 1622, saying that although Townsend presented a 'Bill signed by his Ma<sup>i</sup>estie authorisinge him & his company as the Lady Elizabethes players to play in any Citty &c by the space of xiiii<sup>en</sup> Dayes,' the company was 'denyed for many reasons alledged vnto them' (ref 113). It is easy to speculate that previous problems encountered in Norwich were behind the reasoning for their dismissal, although in June of the same year in Norwich the King's company and the Queen's company (the late Queen Anne) were also denied permission to play suggesting that it may not just have been the Lady Elizabeth's Men with whom the authorities had a problem. Following dismissal from Norwich the company proceeded to Kent where it was made welcome by various town authorities, receiving payment in Lydd on 13 July where it played at 'the last faire by the appointment of the *Master Bayliff*', followed by receiving payment of 5s from the Chamberlains at New Romney on 24 July 'for a gratuitye' (ref 121) but here it is unclear as to whether or not the company was paid for a performance, or for dismissal.

Towards the end of 1622 there are records of performances which might also be attributed into 1623. There was a return performance in Congleton where the borough records run from 23 October 1622 to a conjectured date of 30 January 1623 (ref 123), and similarly the records of Barnstaple in Devon cover a period of time within which it is difficult to ascertain precisely when the company was there, but at some point between 29 September 1622 and 28 September 1623 the sum of 30s was given to 'the Lady Elizabeths players by *master* Mayors order' (ref 122). The Chamberlains' records for Coventry give a more precise date for the company on 24 January 1623 (ref 125).

The activities of the company are not then recorded until 10 May 1623 in Norwich when Francis Wambus again presented the March 1621 patent and the company were given leave to play ‘for fower days onely this next weke & no longer for many reasons alledged’ (ref 127). There are no details given of the reasons for the curtailing of their playing period, but given the company’s troubled history with the town authorities of Norwich there is little surprise that conditions were placed upon its playing in the city.

By the summer of 1623 the players were back in London at the Cockpit/Phoenix. Herbert recorded various play licences in relation to the company. On 21 August 1623 he authorised ‘an Old Play called *Matche mee in London*’ which had previously been licensed by George Buc which he allowed ‘freely & without fee’ (Bawcutt 1996, 143). Within the space of two days however the company upset Herbert when it ignored the changes that he had insisted upon for the old play *The Martyr’d Soldier*; Herbert’s response to this contravention was to insist upon the book being returned to him to set ‘a president to the office and to take my fee’ (ref 130). This was followed up by some controversy over the staging of another old play, *The Escapes of Jupiter*, just a few days later on 26 August 1623 (ref 131). Originally Herbert had allowed the play to be licensed for the Cockpit/Phoenix company, but then appears to have changed his mind as the play was ‘taken from the Cockpitt upon the remove of some of the sharers’; he then allowed it for the King’s players, which was presumably the destination of the departing players (ref 131).

Later in the year there was some confusion about another entry in Herbert’s Office Book. William Bonen’s comedy *The Crafty Merchant* was recorded as being licensed for the Lady Elizabeth players but an additional sentence underneath the entry states that the company was not one of the of four licensed companies allowed in London, and that the play had been performed at the Red Bull, a performance space with no previous connection with the Company (ref 132). Nigel Bawcutt suggests that the whole sentence results from a transcription error made when the Office Book was compiled as just a few lines down a similar sentence appears for an entry about a play performed at the Red Bull by a ‘company of strangers’ (Bawcutt 1996, 144–45). The status of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men was high in 1623, as confirmed by its performance of *The Spanish Gypsy* at Whitehall, in front of Prince Charles on 5 November 1623 (ref 134),



suggesting that it still held official status and recognition, and would have been considered as one of the four companies. The naming of the company does however become variable during their time at the Cockpit/Phoenix in London; after the entry of 12 September 1623 Herbert mostly referred to it as either the Cockpit company or the Queen of Bohemia's Men. It is to the Queen of Bohemia's Men that he licensed Philip Massinger's *The Noble Bondman* (Massinger 1624) on 3 December 1623 which was then performed at the Cockpit/Phoenix in the presence of the prince (ref 135).

The company appeared to have once again retreated to Kent during 1624 with a recorded visit to Dover between 20 March 1624 and 17 April 1624. The scribe in the Chamberlains' Accounts for Dover recorded the fact that the company carried with it not only 'his Maistes licence' but also 'the master of Revells his Confirmacion' (ref 148) (Bawcutt 1996, 150) again demonstrating their acceptability to the authorities. The visit to Hythe is likely to have coincided with the Dover performance although it could have taken place at any point between 2 February 1624 and 2 February 1625 (Gibson 2002, 640). By 17 April 1624 Henry Herbert licensed *The Renegado* for the Cockpit Company suggesting that its excursion to Dover, and possibly Hythe, was completed in time for it to return to London to play at the Phoenix on, or just after 17 April 1624, or for a separate London branch of the company to appear at the Cockpit/Phoenix. Even if only one branch were operating at the time there would still be time enough to allow for the company to reach Norwich on 24 April when Francis Wambus once again presented the March 1621 patent (ref 149). The reception of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in Norwich was once again confrontational, as the town officers sought to counter the company's authorisation with a letter from the Privy Council, dated 27 May 1623 stating 'mr maior & Iustices of peace are authorised & required not to suffer any players to shewe exercise any players within this City or liberties hereof'. Wambus's recorded reaction to this was to insist that the king's authority was the greater of the two and that the company would play. On 26 April handbills were seen posted on the gate of the White Horse Inn in Tombland, Norwich advertising the playing of 'an exelent Comedy Called the Spanishe Contract By the Princesse Servantes' (ref 150). The mayor demanded to talk to John Townsend, Alexander Foster, Joseph Moore and Francis Wambus, all mentioned in the March 1621 licence, to be informed that Wambus was the only named person present. Wambus insisted again that the company would play under the authority

of the king but this course of action resulted in him being imprisoned. On 24 May 1624 it was reported that John Townsend was due to arrive in Norwich, presumably to post bail for Wambus (ref 151). Two days later, 26 May 1624, a warrant was sent to the keeper of the gaol for the release, not only, of Francis Wambus, but also William Bee (ref 152). The legal proceedings continued into September 1624 when Wambus and Townsend appeared in court in Norwich. By this time Wambus was in possession of a letter from Sir Henry Herbert, who was not only Chief Justice of the Common Pleas at that time, but was also an important landowner in Norfolk (ref 153). The letter had been dated in June and allowed for Wambus to give his own security for his alleged offences, effectively meaning that any money that Townsend had lodged on behalf of Wambus and Bee was no longer necessary, and should never have been charged initially. Wambus and Townsend used the letter to argue this point but despite this, on 25 September 1624, the court declared that the imprisonment of both Wambus and Bee 'was occasioned by their owne miscarraige' and so 'nothingshould be given vnto them in that respect' (ref 157). The incarceration of Wambus and Bee, together with the required presence of Townsend must have impacted upon the business of the company; their appearance in Coventry between 1 and 28 July 1624 must have taken place without either Wambus or Bee but other than a note of payment of 12s there are no further details for this performance (ref 154).

The company was back in London and performing at court in time for the Christmas festivities. On Innocent's Night, 28 December 1624, it performed *Cupid's Revenge* (Beaumont and Fletcher 1615) at Whitehall in front of the Prince, and the German Duke of Brunswick (ref 166). The company remained at court over the Christmas period and played the old play *Greene's Tu Quoque* (Cooke 1614), again at Whitehall, on Twelfth Night, which marked the end of the festivities period.

On 11 February 1624 Herbert licensed another new play for the Cockpit company, this time *Love Tricks*, and shortly afterwards on 9 March 1624 confirmed a licence, presumably for travelling, to John Townsend, Joseph Moore and Foster for a period of one year but there is little evidence of significant touring activity after this date. The death of James I, and ascension of Charles on 27 March 1625 marks a moment when there is a change in the fortunes of the company. The Lady Elizabeth's Men were paid

£1 3s on 1 April 1625 in Faversham ‘beeinge heere when our King was proclaimed for the Play and Trumpettes’ (ref 165), but following the proclamation of Charles as King the company was refused leave to play in Lyme Regis (ref 158). There is then a dearth of evidence of regional playing for the company until 1630 when Joseph Moore turned up in Norwich with what appears to be a new licence issued under seal of Charles. The licence issued on 15 December, in the ‘4<sup>th</sup> yeare of his Maiesties Reign’ would date it to 1628 (ref 170). In common with the previous licence of 20 March 1617 the company was again licensed to play comedies. The players headed up to the north-west during the second half of 1630 where they performed at Dunkenhalth on 19 July 1630. The entry in the household accounts of the Walmsley family describes them as ‘Players which tearmet them selves the lady Elizabethes players’ which raises some doubts about the personnel of the company performing (ref 172). Having performed at Dunkenhalth previously it could be assumed that the household would have known the players from their previous visits. The final extant touring documents are for 1631. The Borough accounts for Congleton show a payment of 10s (Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills 2007, 656), and a payment of £1 made on 30 March 1631 to ‘Ioseph More Iohn Townesend & other players to the Ladie Elizabeth’ (R. W. Ingram 1981, 431). After this date there are no records naming an active company as the Lady Elizabeth’s Men or mentioning any of the founder members of the company.

## **Coda**

There is no one single source that depicts the history of the playing company known as the Lady Elizabeth’s Men. The company’s history is located within a myriad of disparate documents, mostly generated by external sources. By examining these documents, and placing them in a chronological order it is possible to construct a logical and coherent narrative history.

The documents show that from its inception in 1611 the company was in a precarious financial situation with no permanent commercial playing space. The players of the company, whilst capable of performance, appear not to have had the financial resources necessary for successful commercial production of drama. The lack of available funds quickly led the company to seek financial arrangements with Philip Henslowe in order that it was provided with the material means necessary to perform

successfully. The support from Henslowe allowed the company to function as a commercial entity but ended in a major disagreement over shared playing space at the Hope. The financial instability of the Lady Elizabeth's Men also led to informal mergers with the playing company known as the Prince's Men.

From its origins there was an intention that the company would tour provincial towns and it is possible to see the Lady Elizabeth's Men pursuing this activity, especially after their 1614 disagreement with Henslowe. Touring activities are the main source of information about the company during the period 1616 to 1622 after which they returned to a permanent playhouse in London. Touring was a precarious activity, and often led the company into dispute with local authorities who were disinclined to allow performance. The evidence offered by touring documentation is comprised of payment records that show the extent of travelling undertaken by the company. Its touring activities took the company from Devon to Northumbria, and covered many major towns and cities. The licensing documents that the company presented indicate the issues surrounding duplicated documents that rogue companies often used in order to perform, and also show that the company was protected by its connections with a royal patron.

Royal performance was an expected part of the activities of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, but this activity is concentrated towards the beginning of its career when it was based in London. The departure of its royal patron, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, to Germany following her marriage in 1613 saw a reduction in the company's court performances but it was seen to play for James I during his 1617 progress to Scotland. Following its return to commercial playing in London in 1622 the company played for Prince Charles. The later period of London playing is documented in the main by the records of the Revels Office and it is within these records that we see the demise of the company in 1625.

## Chapter 2: The Repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

Many plays have been associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men over its lifetime.

Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700* attributes a total of 26 plays to the company whereas *DEEP: Database of Early English Playbooks* recognises only a total of 19 plays printed between 1618 and 1657 as being part of the repertory of the company; the disparity arises because *DEEP* only contains printed plays, whereas Harbage looked further afield for company attributions and included sources such as manuscripts. A few of the later plays have been attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by some scholars, but these plays such as *The Noble Bondman* (discussed later), may now look to be more properly assigned to the repertory of the later Queen of Bohemia's Men. The difficulty of assigning individual plays arises because the nature of the evidence linking plays to the companies is varied and diverse, and of differing levels of reliability. This thesis considers the plays that can be more firmly attributed to performance by the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

### 2.1 Survey of Evidence

For the purposes of compiling the list of plays included within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men for this thesis, the period 1611 to 1625 has been considered as the temporal limits to the existence of the company. These are the dates between which there is documentary evidence of the existence of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Plays that have been attributed solely to the Queen of Bohemia's Men have not been included here. The list produced above is from a variety of sources of differing degrees of reliability divided here into primary and secondary evidence. Primary evidence originates from three sources: licensing documents, payment records, and printed plays, and each of these sources provides a direct link between a play and the company. Secondary evidence, such as entries in Philip Henslowe's papers, also provides this link but is a step away from a direct link to the company, and requires corroboration by some other external means.

## 2.2 Primary Evidence

There are three main sources of primary evidence that provide reliable and significant verifiable links between the company and a specific play: records showing plays being licensed for performance; records showing the company being paid for performances; and the title-pages of printed editions of plays recording this company as their performers. Of these sources licensing records are documents of control, payment records document commercial activity as do printed plays which are the product of a commercial activity, but one which has usually been carried out by someone not directly attached to the company.

Licensing and payment records tend to be produced close to the period of playing, and during the acknowledged period of existence of the company, and their nature of production means that they are provided by sources external to the company. Such external evidence is intrinsically objective, as third parties have not had any incentive to make false claims about extending the repertory of the company. For payment records in particular, the glimpse that they provide of the plays belonging to the company is often coincidental. Primary evidence by way of publications bearing the name of the company is often not of a timely nature, in some instances being produced years after the first productions, but they do provide third party evidence of the content of the repertory.

### 2.2.1 Licensing evidence

The records of the licensing of plays by the Revels Office provides primary evidence that enables a specific play to be linked to a specific playing company; there is also often detail of the playhouse associated with the company, and sometimes a member of the company is named. The licensing evidence linking individual plays with the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men comes mostly from the Office Book of Henry Herbert, who acted as Master of the Revels from 1623 until the closure of the playhouses in 1642, and deals with the later years of the company from 1622. Unfortunately Herbert's Office Book survives only in the form of an amalgamation of transcripts from the original. Some of these transcripts may not be reliable, as Herbert's records frequently refer to the Cockpit company rather than to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and often the names of the playing companies have been inserted by subsequent

copyists of Herbert's Office Book. This does add some degree of ambiguity to the records used here but scholars from Harbage onwards assume the resident company at the Cockpit Drury Lane to be the Lady Elizabeth's Men for the period from 1622.

By following the licensing records of the Revels Office, it is possible not only to establish plays that make up the repertory, but also to establish the point at which the company ceased to exist within official licensing records. The Revels Office entry in August 1623 for the play *The Martyred Soldier* refers specifically to the Lady Elizabeth's Men and places the company at the Cockpit but the licence, giving authority for the play to be performed, was rescinded when the company wilfully ignored Herbert's amendments (ref 130). This seems to pinpoint the exact moment at which the Lady Elizabeth's Men ceased to exist within the regulatory records of the Revels Office. There is only one reference to the company known as the Lady Elizabeth's Men after this date within the Office Book when William Bonen's play *The Crafty Merchant* is licensed, supposedly to the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 132). The entry is confused and Nigel Bawcutt puts forward a compelling argument that the attribution to the Red Bull playing house is in fact a scribal error (Bawcutt 1996, 145); acceptance of Bawcutt's argument would leave an attribution to the Lady Elizabeth's Men for the play. There are no further clear references to the company registering plays after this entry of the indistinct reference to *The Crafty Merchant* in the Office Book. After August 1623 there are references within the records of the Revels Office to the Queen of Bohemia's Men, which can cause confusion as Lady Elizabeth Stuart was also known as the Queen of Bohemia, but other than the name of the patron there is little cross over between the two companies. There is, however, some clashing between the licensing records and the court records. Within the court records there is a short period where the names Lady Elizabeth's Men and Queen of Bohemia's Men are seemingly used interchangeably, probably arising from the fact that both titles refer to the same royal woman. Thomas Middleton's play *The Spanish Gypsy* is shown as having been 'Acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants at the Phoenix 9 July 1623' (ref 128) but by 5 November 1623 the court records of the Treasurer of the Chamber record the Queen of Bohemia's Men as undertaking the play. Public recognition of the demise of the company seems to have taken longer than the official recognition. This is illustrated by the example of *The Noble Bondman* which was licensed to the Queen of Bohemia's Men in December 1623

(ref 135), and played at court in December 1623 (ref 136) but the title page of the quarto published in 1624 gives the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the playing company (ref 144). Official recognition of the Queen of Bohemia's Men implies that the Lady Elizabeth's Men ceased to exist but public perception, or, perhaps the commercial acuity of a printer suggests that the buying public could more easily be persuaded to part with its money for a printed copy of a play if the name of the popular and older company were attached to it. Indeed, of all the extant title pages that refer to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, only *Amends for Ladies* (Field 1618) and *The Noble Bondman* are printed within the established timespan of the existence of the company; the remaining three were not printed until the 1630s, long after the company had vanished from the regulatory framework. This is clear evidence of printers trading on the reputation of the company long after it had vanished. Such evidence also fits the hypothesis that after 23 August the company ceased to exist as the Lady Elizabeth's Men for the regulatory purposes of the Revels Office.

William Bonen's play *The Crafty Merchant* adds to the confusion and difficulties. The entry in the Office Book specifically licenses 'For the lady Eliz's Players' in September 1623 but places the company at The Red Bull, a playhouse with which it seems to have had no previous connection (ref 132); there is no record of the company playing in an outdoor playhouse after *Bartholomew Fair* at the Hope in 1614. Of the extant title pages that specifically refer to the Lady Elizabeth's Men the 1620 quarto of *The Noble Bondman* is the only one that links the company with the Cockpit/Phoenix playhouse.

### 2.2.2 Payment records

The payment records derive either from royal court documents or from the records kept by civic authorities in provincial towns or cities. Both categories of records detail the amount paid to the company, the payee, either as a named person, or simply as the company, dates, and occasionally the name of the play performed is mentioned. The original purpose of such documentation was to keep track of financial expenditure so details, other than financial matters, relating to the play performed are frequently not mentioned as they are of little importance to the recorder. The details of such records can however be presumed to be accurate as the town chancellors, the local officials responsible for recording town expenditure, were personally accountable for



expenditure and for the veracity of such payments. When such payment records mention the names of plays they become an excellent resource with which to help establish the repertory of the company; they also provide us with a resource for establishing the activities of the company, and demonstrate that the playing companies in general were acting in a commercial manner.

#### 2.2.2.1 Court Evidence

Royal court records are regarded as a source of reliable evidence within this thesis because they were made close to the date of performance, and were made by someone with fiscal responsibility for providing court entertainment. They record which of the many playing companies provided the entertainment, often noting who was paid on the company's behalf. The records also detail the place of playing, and which member of the royal household was in attendance; occasionally the name of the play is also mentioned. The scope for misinterpretation of this information is considered to be limited. Court evidence relates in the main to the records of the 'Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber'; the Treasurers of the Chamber being the court officers responsible for all payments for entertainments. For the period of court records relating to the Lady Elizabeth's Men the Treasurer was John Stanhope until 1617, and then Sir William Uvedale (Cook and Wilson 1961, ix). Within Stanhope's records three plays are specifically attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men: *Eastward Ho*, *The Dutch Courtesan*, which is referred to by its familiar name of *Cockle de Moye*, and *Bartholomew Fair*. Two further plays are listed, *Raymond Duke of Lyons* and *The Proud Maid*, but these plays are no longer extant. The company appears not to have played at court following Stanhope's resignation until the periods of 1622-3 and 1623-4 when *The Spanish Gypsy*, *The Noble Bondman*, *The Changeling*, and *Greene's Tu Quoque* are attributed to the company that took over the residency of the Phoenix/Cockpit. This fits in with the company leaving London as a commercial venture and operating only in the provinces until its return to the Phoenix in 1622.

Of these early performed court-performed plays, *Eastward Ho* and *The Dutch Courtesan* are generally acknowledged as having first been part of the repertory of the boys' company known as the Children of the Queen's Revels which was based at the Blackfriars (Munro 2005, 167-69). *Eastward Ho* has been dated to 1605 and was also printed in that year (Chapman, Jonson, and Marston 1979, xvi) (Marston 1997).

Similarly *The Dutch Courtesan* was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1605 and then printed as a quarto edition (Crane 1997, xiii). As part of the repertory of the Queen's Revels Company these plays had been performed at court by that company before being played at court by the Lady Elizabeth's Men as part of its acquired repertory; the first evidence of these plays belonging to repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men comes from the court records.

The Queen's Revels and the Lady Elizabeth's Men had players that were common to both companies and, as the plays were already in print, and so readily available to players that were familiar with them, it is no surprise that they became part of the repertory of the newer company. On the demise of the Revels the plays probably travelled with one of the players who had joined the new company. It is not known who selected the plays to be performed at court but the most likely scenario is that the request came from courtiers and the company was requested to play court favourites. The alternative position is that companies played safe and performed plays that it knew had been well received at previous court appearances. Either of these scenarios means that court performances were often revivals of older plays; Roslyn Knutson shows that in the 1612-13 court year even established companies such as the King's Men seemed happier to play older established plays at the royal court. Of the eighteen plays that it performed in that winter season only four were new (Knutson 1991, 143). This suggests that companies were conservative in their approach to court playing and that a brand new play would be an anomaly to this mode of activity, and could possibly imperil future court playing if not well received. The Lady Elizabeth's Men, whilst it did predominantly perform old plays at court, diverged from this careful and conservative approach with the court performance of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* on 1 November 1614. This play was written specifically for the company and was performed for the first time at The Hope on the eve of the court performance; court records date the performance and the 1631 quarto of the play confirms the year (ref 067). The accounts of the Revels Office indicate that some preparations had been made for this particular play so perhaps even if it was a risk and a divergence from normal practice, given the specific staging requirements some negotiations must have been made with the Revels Office for this play. If the practicalities of the play had been taken care of there is an

implication that the subject matter of the play must have been considered fit for playing at court.

John Astington notes that even though the Revels Office had relinquished much of its activity in preparing stage properties for the performances of playing companies at court by this time, some exception seems to have been made for the performance of *Bartholomew Fair*. He notes that the Revels Office record payments for ‘Canvas for the Boothes and other neccies for a play called Bartholomewe ffaire’ (Astington 1999, 144). The booths were an integral and necessary part of the staging of the play because of the specific location requirements that Jonson wrote into it. The provision of such materials by the Revels Office suggests that a degree of planning and collaboration for the new play had taken place with the court in order that this new untried play could actually be performed successfully in front of a royal audience. Jonson however already had a strong link to the court arising out of his writing of masques which members of the court performed; he also had a hand in the writing of *Eastward Ho* which had been revived at court in January 1614. A new play by Jonson did not therefore necessarily represent a significant risk to the company.

The John Marston tragicomedy *The Dutch Courtesan* played at court on 25 February 1613 as part of the season of plays put on in celebration of Lady Elizabeth’s wedding to Frederick V, Elector Palatine (ref 019). The play obviously proved popular at court because it was again played by the company on 12 December 1613 (ref 053). Such repetition reinforces the argument that court playing was a conservative and safe enterprise where tried and tested plays were preferred over innovative plays. *The Dutch Courtesan* was quickly followed up by the court performance of a second play from the repertory of the Children of the Queen’s Revels; the multi-authored play *Eastward Ho* was performed at court on 25 January 1614. The link to the earlier Queen’s Revels company, and the route of transmission of these plays to the relatively newly-established Lady Elizabeth’s Men, is provided through the agency of the personnel of the company.

After the 1614 performances there was a hiatus before the company played at court again during the Christmas festivities of 1622. The plays linked to these later performances are unrecorded in the ‘Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber’ with

the last named play connected specifically with the Lady Elizabeth's Men being the 1614 performance of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (ref 066). We know that the Lady Elizabeth's Men were active at court for the period 1622 to 1623 but the court records cannot give us further evidence for the inclusion of repertory.

Some of the plays confirmed as belonging to the Lady Elizabeth's Men may have found their way into the repertory of the later Queen of Bohemia's Men but this is not sufficient evidence to suggest that the companies shared the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, or was indeed the same company.

#### 2.2.2.2 Regional Records

Regional payment records often mention the company but not so often the play that it performed; these records can tell us where the company was but less frequently what it did when it was there. The records maintained by regional civic authorities to detail their public expenditure reveal payments to companies of travelling players for performances in civic and guildhalls. Whilst there is infrequent detail of the plays actually performed, often other details are noted that tell of the activities of playing companies; these tend to be particulars of disturbances and disagreements that involve the players. A review of the Records of Early English Drama (*REED*) for the Lady Elizabeth's Men shows only one named play for the company amongst all the civic records. In April 1624, after having been dismissed from Norwich without playing the company placed bills advertising a performance of a new comedy called *The Spanish Contract*. This advertising of this unauthorised performance led to further disapproval from the Norwich authorities and resulted in the imprisonment of Francis Wambus for disobedience (ref 150).

The lack of play titles within the records shows that, although the main activity of the playing companies was the performance of plays, the recording of the names of the plays was of little importance to the authorities. The authorities were always more concerned with the maintenance of good order amongst the local citizenry than with the details of the playing companies' professional activities; indeed, the maintenance of good order within the citizenry seems to have been made more difficult by the presence of a group of travelling players. The civic authorities had no concern with the licensing

of individual plays for performance and so the content of the repertory seems not to have been a factor in their consideration of whether or not to allow performance.

### 2.2.3 Printed editions

Printed editions of plays frequently name the playing company on the title page, although printings were not published by the playing company responsible for performance but by independent publishers and printers profiting from the company's endeavours. Such print editions provide primary evidence of the performance of a play by the company with the name of the company on the title page as an inducement to purchase by a reader; such quarto editions were often published after a play had proven to be a success in performance and referred to this success. The 1624 printing of Philip Massinger's play *The Noble Bondman* declares on its title page that it is printed:

As it hath been often Acted with good / allowance, at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane: / by the most excellent Princesse, the Lady / Elizabeth her / Servants.  
(ref 144)

The dependability of these details may be called into question where the publication is some time after the original production. In this instance the printing is a decade later than the first performance but sometimes it is necessary to acknowledge the lack of any further concrete evidence that may be relied upon and to recognise that this is a restriction of working with incomplete historical data and is the closest that we can come to public opinion. Again the publication of quartos represents a commercial activity, although it is unlikely that the company benefitted directly from publication beyond any one-off payment it might have received for delivering a copy of the script. The commercial risk of publishing attached itself to the printer of the plays and did not impact upon the financial situation of the playing company. Publication of quartos indicating the name of the company suggests that in some way the company itself was a marker of public recognition; a publisher would be unlikely to risk alienating a potential purchaser by marketing an unknown, or even a notoriously unsuccessful company.

Five plays exist in quarto form which specifically acknowledge the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the playing company:

*Amends for Ladies* (performed 1611, printed 1618)  
*A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (performed 1611-13, printed 1630)

*Bartholomew Fair* (performed 1614, printed 1631)  
*All's Lost by Lust* (performed 1619/20, printed 1633)  
*The Bond-Man* (performed 1623, printed 1624; 1638)

The plays are all by different writers, published by different printers, with different places of playing given on the title pages (or in the case of *Bartholomew Fair* given in the 'Induction' of the play). With the exception of *Amends for Ladies*, all the editions were published after the company ceased to be called The Lady Elizabeth's Men but refer back to its original name. Two of the plays are identified in the editions as having been performed at the Cockpit/ Phoenix, one at the Blackfriars, one at the Swan, and another at the Hope. The plays are divided between the early period of the company's existence and the later more settled period of indoor playing at the Cockpit/Phoenix. The divide between the two periods clearly shows that the earlier years seem to be focussed upon comedies, whereas the later plays put on at the Cockpit/Phoenix tend to be much darker and tragic or tragicomedy in nature.

The play *Amends for Ladies* provides yet another link between its writer Nathan Field and the company. Field was to become one of the company's best actors and is referred to by name in *Bartholomew Fair* as an exemplar of a good actor. We know that he was an integral part of the company in its earliest formation because he was responsible for signing management agreements with Philip Henslowe for playhouse space and finance (ref 015). He also acted as the payee for the company at court up until 1616 when he joined the King's Men as a player.

The earlier plays *Amends for Ladies*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, and *Bartholomew Fair* all have a London-centric theme, and demonstrate a mocking attitude towards city authority. *Amends for Ladies* takes a marriage plot as its central theme and explores the different married states of its three main female characters, whilst at the same time mocking the actions of the noble gentlemen. Similarly *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* revolves around the marriage plot of Moll Yellowhammer, as she negotiates avoiding marriage with the man chosen for her by her father. Both of these plays give prominence to female roles. As a company that evolved out of the Queen's Revels boys' company, the Lady Elizabeth's Men would have consisted of a number of talented and experienced boys or young men still able to take on female roles. Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* has an ensemble structure whereby there is not a readily identifiable

main character, and many plot lines exist, but like both *Amends for Ladies* and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* there is at the heart of the play a marriage problem which needs to be resolved. *Bartholomew Fair* also calls for a significant number of female roles to be played by members of the company.

## 2.3 Secondary Evidence

This evidence of association with the company is often a step away from reliable original information that can be verified by a source external to the company, but, through known links with writers, playhouses known to have used by the company, and established company members there exists evidence from which it is possible to construct part of the repertory of the company not attested by direct evidence; much of this sort of evidence may be found in sources such as Henslowe's diary and notes seen in manuscripts, and other printings.

### 2.3.1 The records of Philip Henslowe

The notebooks of Philip Henslowe provide a source of documentary evidence in the form of letters from writers that he had contracted to produce plays for playing companies using the playhouses that he managed.

The link between the Lady Elizabeth's Men and Philip Henslowe is provided early in the existence of the company. As stated in chapter 1, a few months after the original patent was granted, a bond was drawn up with Philip Henslowe on 29 August 1611 for a total of £500 to be advanced to the company (ref 004). Andrew Gurr suggests that the link with Henslowe was for him to provide funds for the purchase of plays and properties (1996, 398); it could be argued that the link with Henslowe would also go some way towards providing a stable London venue for the company but as Gurr points out, Henslowe had no free playing houses at this time (1996, 398). Around this time we start to see a series of letters from various playwrights to Philip Henslowe. The pivotal letter linking the company to Henslowe is a 1614 letter from Nathan Field, Philip Massinger, and Robert Daborne (ref 016). Field was already established as a member of the company as he was a signatory to the 1613 Henslowe deed (ref 015), and also acted as a payee on behalf of the company at court for the play *Bartholomew Fair* (ref 066). Field's association with the company is referred to in the play itself during a discussion

between characters about current popular players when the question ‘Where is your Field?’ is posed. Field is a key link when it comes to assigning plays to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men through the records of Philip Henslowe.

The 1614 letter (Henslowe 1907, MSS 1, Art 68) contained within the Henslowe archive jointly written by Nathan Field, Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger helps to show the relationship between the individual writers. Knowing that Field was definitely connected with the company, through both his playing and writing activities, and by accepting that Henslowe had provided funds with which the company was expected to acquire plays for performance (ref 014), it is possible to interpolate that the men were acting together to provide material for the Lady Elizabeth’s Men. The Henslowe archive contains many letters between Henslowe and the playwrights demonstrating, through various demands for early payment and extra writing time, that the writing process to provide new plays was underway. The company is never named specifically but the evidence points towards writing for a new company with a need for new plays, and the new company requiring plays at this time was the Lady Elizabeth’s Men.

Daborne wrote on numerous occasions about the lost play *Machiavel and the Devil* (refs 021; 022; 034), and *The Arraignment of London* (refs 030; 032; 033), a play that he wrote in conjunction with Cyril Tourneur, having given him an act to write when he fell behind with Henslowe’s deadline. *The Owl* is also mentioned by name in the letters (refs 053; 055), and again shows another play written collaboratively. Within the letters Daborne also specifically mentions *Eastward Ho* and talks about Jonson’s play which, given the dates, would be *Bartholomew Fair*; both of which are confirmed plays belonging to the Lady Elizabeth’s Men.

### 2.3.2 Manuscript evidence

There are three extant manuscripts of plays that can be linked to the company. The manuscript of *The Honest Man’s Fortune* contains a note from Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels which states that the play had been ‘Plaide in the yeare 1613’. The later printed 1679 Beaumont and Fletcher Folio includes the only print edition of the play, and also lists six players who took parts in the play. The line-up of players of ‘Nathan Field, Rob. Benfield, Emanuel Read, Joseph Taylor, Will Egglestone, Thomas Basse’ is consistent with the membership of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men in 1613 and



confirms them as the players of the play (Beaumont and Fletcher 1679, Sss3r). The title page for the play in the 1679 2<sup>nd</sup> Beaumont Fletcher folio, includes the line ‘Plaide in the year 1613’ (Beaumont and Fletcher 2009, xvi), and a list of the original actors that performed it is also printed. This list includes Nathan Field and Joseph and strongly suggests that the Lady Elizabeth’s Men were the company responsible for the first performance of the play.

*The Welsh Ambassador*, attributed to Thomas Dekker in Harbage’s *Annals of English Drama*, exists only in manuscript; there is no extant early modern printing (1964, 116–17). Thomas Littledale in the 1920 Malone Society edition of the play traces the ownership of the manuscript to Joseph Hazelwood, and then in the much later catalogue of the bookseller Thomas Thorpe (Dekker 1920, vi). Fredson Bowers identified an entry for the manuscript in the account of stock of the bookseller Abraham Hill between 1677 and 1703. Bowers asserts that the entry relates to the manuscript that is now held in the public library of Cardiff, and further notes that the full title in the catalogue is given as ‘the Welsh Ambassador or a Comedy in disguises Tho Dekker’ (1968, IV:303). The title page of the manuscript is now missing so there is no longer any authorship detail but certainly the title, as recorded in the Hill catalogue, would fit the play that is contained within the manuscript. Bertram Lloyd provides a link to Dekker as author through his analysis of the play, and goes on to identify two further passages which he believes can be attributed to John Ford (Lloyd 1927, 195–96). It is Harbage who tentatively attributes the play to the Lady Elizabeth’s Men, but Greg uses the physical manuscript to establish a link with the company. He asserts that the professional scribal hand of *The Welsh Ambassador* is the same as that of the hand in the manuscript of Philip Massinger’s play *The Parliament of Love*, a play which was licensed by the Revels Office for performance at the Phoenix/Cockpit in 1624 (ref 162) placing the plays orthographically and chronologically close to one another.

## **2.4 The Nature of the Repertory**

The evidence of the company’s repertory as established here can broadly be divided into two separate periods:

Early repertory 1611 – 1616

Late Repertory 1622 – 1625

The allocation between the early and late repertory is arbitrary but a gap in the playing records in the period between 1617 and 1621 provides a natural break. Plays introduced into the early repertory were still available to the company later but the allocation into the early period arises because of the date of first playing. The same cannot hold true for plays sitting within the later repertory.

#### 2.4.1 The early repertory

There is a distinct bias towards comedy within the early recorded repertory of the company. *Eastward Ho*, *The Dutch Courtesan*, and *Bartholomew Fair* are all comedies and were all performed at court. We also see *Amends for Ladies*, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* being performed during this period.

There is a demonstration here of a newly-formed company relying upon a mix of plays that have been produced by older companies, and newly written plays that appear to have been written for the company. Because of the nature of inherited plays there is a wide variety of writers included in these lists; once written, however, there is little involvement with the company for the writer of a play. The variety of writers becomes a defining factor of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men; in this respect the Lady Elizabeth's Men represents what can be seen as a typical Jacobean playing company, acquiring plays from a multitude of sources in order to satisfy a demand for performance. Early acquisition of plays performed by Children of the Queen's Revels fits in with the model suggested by James Marino advocating that many members of the company had previously been associated with the boys playing companies, and that the Lady Elizabeth's Men was a stepping stone towards a stable adult playing career (Marino 2009, 89–90).

#### 2.4.2 The later repertory

The later plays of the company move away from straight-forward comedy towards tragicomedy and tragedies. One of the significant factors here is that the plays included within the early repertory are often plays that have been inherited by the company, rather than those written specifically for it. The shaping of the repertory during this period is in part dependent upon which plays the company happened to acquire. By the time the Lady Elizabeth's Men is located in the more stable environment of the Cockpit/Phoenix playhouse, under the management of Christopher Beeston, it was

possible to commission plays that suited their particular interests and strengths. Around this time Herbert's Office Book shows many new plays, and other revivals being licensed for the company at the Cockpit/Phoenix. The use of re-licensed plays suggests that there was a struggle to acquire sufficient plays to satisfy demand but the re-licensing of an old play for the company would have been neither a cheap, nor a timely process. The company would have been required to submit any older plays which had been altered in any way for re-licencing for which it would have been charged a fee; during the 1620s, when much of this re-licensing activity was taking place for the Lady Elizabeth's Men, Herbert was inflicting a heavy charge of 10 shillings upon playing companies (Egan 2014, 22).

#### 2.4.3 The question of style

Within London the Lady Elizabeth's Men needed to forge its own identity so that it had a commercial point of difference in order to compete with the longer-established companies such as the King's Men. When writing about the repertory of earlier companies performing in the 1590s, Roslyn Knutson talks about repertory being 'a company's most potent commercial instrument' (2001, 56); such an instrument would provide a company with a commercial point of difference to distinguish it from other companies in the fiercely competitive market in which the players found themselves. Knutson goes on to say that companies were not unknown to exploit the repertories of their competitors (2001, 61), not necessarily by taking a play directly from a competitor but by commissioning a play upon a similar theme to one already proven popular. In this regard Knutson discusses the various Henry V plays but it is possible to see how the Lady Elizabeth's Men exploited genres popularised by preceding and concurrent companies. This is demonstrated by the preponderance of city comedies seen in the early repertory, some of which were inherited, whilst others such as *Bartholomew Fair* were specifically written for the company. So whilst attempting to provide a new commercial repertory the newly-established Lady Elizabeth's Men must have been aware of the types of plays that were performing well amongst its contemporaries and tried to emulate them. Lucy Munro in her work on the Children of the Queen's Revels recognises the importance of providing a distinct repertory and shows how the Queen's Revels developed their own repertory towards tragicomedy to align with a 'shift in audience taste' (2005, 12). This sort of shift is evident within the work of the Lady

Elizabeth's Men as it moved from a peripatetic existence within London and the provinces towards a firmer presence at the Cockpit/Phoenix. Plays at this later venue are seen to be more likely to be of tragic genre rather than tragicomedy or comedy. That is not to say that these other genres were not performed but that licensing records indicate that new plays were more likely to be of this particular genre, suggesting that the company was playing to an audience that was appreciative of these plays.

The 1611 patent granted to the company upon its inception had left the genre of plays to be performed open and included 'Comedies histories Enterludes Morralls pastorals stage playes and such other like as they haue already studied or hereafter shall studie' (ref 003). The limiting factor for the company, at this point in time, to building a stable repertory was simply down to which plays the company was able to acquire. In its early formation the company was not able to compete with the companies who had secured residency of playhouses of their own, as it did not have the necessary capital to invest in the bricks and mortar of a playhouse. Instead it needed to rely upon its players being able to draw in a paying audience, and on the popularity of the plays that it performed. Initially we have seen that it accomplished this through its players bringing in plays from the disbanded boys companies. Through the letters included in the Henslowe papers it is possible to see that with the buying power of the theatre impresario behind it the company was able to commission plays of its own which would have been tailored to play to the combined strengths of the company; it is at this point in the company's lifespan that we are able to see the commissioning of such plays as *Bartholomew Fair*.

The style of the company can be seen in the genre of the plays that it chose to perform, in the availability of the talents of its members, and also in the theatre playing fashions of the day. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, when discussing the Queen's Men, identify theatrical style as something that comprises more than just the genre of plays in the company's repertory. They suggest that it comprises a visual 'style' that focuses attention upon 'objects, costumes, the gestures of the actors, and patterns of stage movement (1998, 125) but I would suggest that 'style' must also incorporate genre.

The importance of having a readily identifiable style arose long before the Lady Elizabeth's Men was founded. As the playhouse industry established itself, physical playhouses started to proliferate within the capital. This expansion of playing spaces gave the playing companies London bases in which to perform and, as a consequence of the increased competition, a company's individual style could be seen as part of its defining property and the point at which it was able to differentiate itself from its competitors.

#### 2.4.4 Genre

The repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men shows a distinct bias towards comedy and tragicomedy plays with over half of all plays being categorised as such. In order to perform such plays the company needed to have players capable of comic acting and business. Many of the plays contain scenes of comic fighting, dancing, and general slapstick action. Plays such as *Cockledemoy* and *Greene's Tu Quoque* present a single character that takes the comic lead role; others such as *The Honest Man's Fortune* and *The Night Walkers* rely upon pairs of comic characters performing as a double act. The comedy of these plays is often of a farcical nature. The farcical elements of *The Night Walkers* with its succession of mistaken identities, disguises, dead bodies that are not dead, fights that aren't really fights, and a deus ex machina resolution to the problems that encapsulate the play are typical of many of the plays within the repertory.

The company did include plays of other genres within its repertory. At the beginning of its commercial life it probably played *Chabot, Admiral of France* (Chapman and Shirley 1639) but such plays dealing with the history of another country seem at odds with the initial offering of the company. Such anomalies might suggest that there was a struggle to find material and to develop its own style at this point in their career. Once Philip Henslowe became involved with the management of the Lady Elizabeth's Men the style of playing settled down to include mostly plays of a comedic nature. Under his management the company acquired plays of a comedic nature, some of which were revivals such as *Eastward Ho*, and others written by a collection of Philip Massinger, Robert Daborne, and Nathan Field.

Under the later stewardship of Christopher Beeston, and with a move into a regular playing house, the company's repertory took a turn towards including the more

tragic element of the canon. The indoor playhouse, providing as it does an intimate space where elements of lighting and sound are more easily controlled, lends itself to the theatrical suspense of the genre of tragedy.

Within the category of genre, it is possible to see several themes emerge. As seen in section 2.2.3 many of the earlier plays attributable to the company show a distinct London-centric view. They are set in London and specifically mention London sites and characters. Even some of the ‘brought forward’ plays that the company had managed to incorporate into their repertory show this trait. Plays such as *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *Match me in London*, and *Bartholomew Fair* all display their London credentials within their titles. Others such as *Amends for Ladies* show an awareness of London-based social structures and activities. What is evident from the London-centric position of these plays is that they often dwell upon the less salubrious parts of London and its culture, as can be seen when the drawer in *Amends for Ladies* says ‘I have been at Besse-Turnups and she swears all the gentlewomen went to see a play at the fortune’ (1618, sig. E3v). This refers not only to the well-known playhouse but, as Fiona McNeill notes, also to an infamous London whore house (1999, 212). References to Turnbull Street, an infamous location for brothels are found throughout many of the plays. Such London-specific references might be considered as a problem for provincial audiences when the company was performing outside of London, but even if the provincial audience was not aware of the specific locations they would have been knowledgeable about the activities that took place in such establishments. The focus on disreputable activities of London citizens also seems to have been popular topic at court.

The referencing of other parts of London is also seen. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* specifically locates the search for Moll Yellowhammer around the river:

My sister’s gone, let’s look at Trig-staires for her  
My Mother’s gone to lay the Common–staires,  
At Puddle-wharfe, and at the Docke below,  
Stands my poore silly Father, Run sweet Tutor, run.  
(1630, sig H3r)

Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* also uses the Thames and its environment; all areas that would have been well known to audiences crossing the Thames to attend the playhouses:

[...] I imagine our Thames here; and then Leander I make a dyer's son,  
about Puddle Wharf; and Hero a wench o' the Bankside, who going over  
one morning to Old Fish Street, Leander spies her land at Trig Stairs, and  
falls in love with her  
(1716, sig L2r)

Puddle Wharf was a main landing point on the north side of the Thames, near to Blackfriars, so it would have been well known to regular play-goers. Bankside on the south of the river was close to the outdoor amphitheatre playhouses. *Bartholomew Fair* references not just specific London locations but also the popular London cultural event of Bartholomew Fair, a seasonal Charter fair that took place during the summer over a period of three days annually from 1311, held in the area just outside of the City of London known as West Smithfields. Charter fairs took place throughout the country so whilst the plot may be centred upon an area known well to a London audience it would be unlikely to alienate a provincial audience as the characters and situations of the fair would be a familiar topic.

Other plays such as Thomas Middleton's *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's* (Middleton 1657) seem not to have such London-specific indications, but the main characters are typically English, with the action centred upon the old Lords Sir Oliver Twilight and Sir Gilbert Lambstone and their families. The foreign characters are seemingly introduced for comedic effect because of the element of misunderstanding of them by the English characters.

As the company matures the focus of the plays moves away from English-based comedies towards darker tragicomedies and tragedies often based in countries other than England.

#### 2.4.5 The role of players

The genre of plays that a company is able to play is circumscribed by the character type of the players available to it. Whilst the converse may also be true it is more likely that the company would commission plays for the personnel available to it rather than take a

play and then try to find players suitable for parts. The community of London players was fluid but the company was made up of a core of players so whilst it had the ability to bring in any necessary players for particular roles, it would be important that main roles would be reserved for established members of the company, known to, and popular with its audience.

Those players who had emerged from the Queen's Revels would have been trained in all aspects of stagecraft, and would have possessed these necessary skills. They were able to perform music because the boys companies were well known for the expertise of their singing, they were skilled in sword fighting, and performing acrobatics, all of which were called for in the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. An early example of this is provided by the Nathan Field play *Amends for Ladies* that calls for extended scenes of comedic poor sword fighting. This would be comic by nature and would provide an opportunity for skilled physical comedians to demonstrate their prowess. The earlier repertory of the company contained many plays that had previously been performed by the Queen's Revels and the, by now, young men who moved to the Lady Elizabeth's Men would have brought with them details of songs, dances and, sword-fighting routines that were included within the plays.

Some of the plays within the repertory call for characters of a very specific type which might have been difficult for the company to accommodate. The Beaumont and Fletcher play *Cupid's Revenge* (1624), for example, has a specific requirement for a dwarf to play the character of Zoylous. The physical characteristics of a dwarf are different to those of a boy player; apart from the obvious lack of height, people with dwarfism often have limbs that are disproportionate to their body size. It seems unlikely that boy players could convincingly perform the roles of mature dwarfish-type characters, as the drama insistently highlights the tension between dwarves' masculinity and their stature. Jenny Sager in her work on the aesthetics of early modern drama argues that dwarves were very often a part of early modern theatre performance because they were able to summon up a 'spectacle' which she describes as being 'capable of inciting horror, contempt or admiration' (2013, 29–30). The dwarf character in *Cupid's Revenge* is written to incite a degree of horror within the minds of their audience. Zoylous is recognised as a 'dwarf' in the list of 'persons' and is described within the play as 'the most deformed fellow i'th Land' (Fletcher and Beaumont, n.d., 1.4.15).



Although only *Cupid's Revenge* can be identified within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men as requiring a dwarf there are at least eight other plays that call for dwarf characters during the period in when the company was in existence; if the company did not want to rely upon a boy actor to take the part of Zoylous it would have had to go outside of the company to hire someone appropriate to play the part. Given that there are specific dwarf roles this suggests that such a person would have been available for hire.

Another aspect of players helping to circumscribe a style for the company is the use that is made of comedy double acts throughout the repertory. Many of the plays use a pair of characters that mostly appear on stage at the same time. In the play *Amends for Ladies* the pairing of Bould and Lady Bright is used to great comic effect with the character of Bould cross-dressing to find his way into the widow's bed. This would have been a comic pairing that perhaps originated from the Children of the Queen's Revels.

In Fletcher's *The Night Walkers* the characters of Snap and Lurcher are central to the plot and nearly always appear together. Their scenes display much physical comedy as they undertake a robbery disguised as a monstrous ghost. LaPoop and Malicorn fulfil the same comedic pairing role in *The Honest Man's Fortune* where physical comedy is central to their roles. The Lady Elizabeth's Men had many members capable of taking on these roles. Often the main role of a play within the repertory required skilled comic actors. *Cockledemoy*, the play that was performed at court, as part of the wedding celebrations of Elizabeth Stuart, foregrounds the comedic talent of the eponymously named character who goes about the business of causing mischief in a number of disguises. This play was not the only one within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men to become known by the name associated with the clown-type character within the play; *Greene's Tu Quoque* draws attention to the catch phrase used by the clown character Bubble. This character would have been played by the clown Thomas Greene when the play was performed by its original company, but the fact that it retained the name associated with the clown suggests that the clown was the biggest draw for an audience and that the Lady Elizabeth's Men would have had a player of sufficient quality to take on the role and satisfy its audience. In these ways the texts of the plays direct us towards an understanding of the skillset required of the players that make up

the Lady Elizabeth's Men and towards an understanding of how this influences repertory choice.

## 2.5 Coda

Objectively establishing the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men has been done by considering the independence of the source documents that relating to the playing company. Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama* provides a means to identify the plays but it does always not provide evidence confirming the attributions made. By reviewing different categories of contemporaneous evidence firmer attributions based on objective evidence may be made.

The objectivity of records of payment, both court and regional, and licensing payments provides a trustworthy degree of impartiality. Title pages are also used as objective evidence but the time difference between playing dates and publication can lead to ambiguity in some cases. Secondary evidence has also been considered. The records of Henslowe's Diary have been included in this category because the links with the Lady Elizabeth's Men are not made directly, as is the case with the records of the Revels Office, but rather through proximity to the players and sharers of the company. Manuscript evidence also falls into the category of secondary evidence as it is only through additional collaborative evidence that the links with the Lady Elizabeth's Men are established.

Through these means 25 extant plays have been identified as belonging to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men (see Appendix 1). Having established the repertory, for the purposes of this chapter, the plays have been categorised into early and late plays with the division made at the point where the company left London in 1616. This division could be seen as somewhat forced because the evidence that leads to attribution of plays to one particular company is less obvious within the touring records than that found within the regulatory records of the commercial London theatre industry. It has only been possible to identify one play, *The Spanish Contract*, as part of the repertory of the company from touring records, and that play is lost. The assumption has been made that plays within the London repertory were also performed regionally. There is some distinction in style apparent within this broad categorisation. The early

plays are dominated by comedies which may be attributed, in part, to the fact that many of these plays originally formed part of the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels, a company known for its comedic output. The later plays were all played at the Cockpit/Phoenix when the company was under the management of Christopher Beeston. The move to a permanent dedicated playhouse demonstrates a change in focus for the company with tragicomedies becoming part of the repertory.

The question of whether the company is able to demonstrate a unique style is addressed when contemplating the established repertory. This is partly down to genre which the division between early and late plays shows to be an evolving process throughout the company's existence. The comedy of the early repertory is farcical in nature, and relies upon players with the physical capabilities to play such comedy. The company is limited by the talents of the players that it has available to it but the inclusions of plays involving physical displays of comedy, dancing, and fencing are talents that most players would have been expected to perform, especially players that had served an effective apprenticeship with the Children of the Queen's Revels. This makes the company fairly typical in its composition when compared to other companies. One of the factors that could possibly mark out a distinction for the company is the use that is made of comedic acts, but again this is a common feature of plays within the period.

What does single out the Lady Elizabeth's Men is a particular comedic talent that has been highlighted in two comedies *Cockledemoy* and *Greene's Tu Quoque*. Both plays foreground a particular comedic character by which both plays eventually became known, suggesting that it was the draw of the character, or the actor playing the character, rather than the play itself, that made it attractive to paying audiences.

## Chapter 3: The Casting and Staging Requirements for the Repertory

### 3.1 Casting and Staging Evidence from Texts

The surviving texts of the plays performed by the company are able to provide us with evidence about the ability of the Lady Elizabeth's Men to actually perform the repertory which it had acquired, or commissioned. This is provided in several ways. By looking at the number of players required to stage each play it has been possible to estimate the probable size of the company. This has been achieved by looking at the doubling evidence which is held in each of the plays. Following a set of consistent rules, doubling charts have been prepared that show how many players would be required to perform each of the plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This evidence then allowed an estimate of the size of the company to be established, together with a perspective of the personnel structure of the company. The charts show that the number of players required to stage plays ranges from 10 to 14 adults and 2 to 9 boy players. This is a huge variation on personnel requirement and demonstrates how the company was prone to fluctuations in personnel; the earlier period of the company's existence is more prone to these variations. The most likely explanation for the large requirements of some of these plays in these earlier days is the merger that seems to have taken place with the Duke of York's Men (which became known as the Prince's company following the death of the Prince of Wales) that took place between 1614 and 1616. Merger is a strong term implying a permanent arrangement but this was a practical arrangement of a temporary nature with the two companies coming together in a collaborative manner; the companies appear to retain their separate identities whilst working together. Various strands of evidence exist for this in both printings of plays and in payment records. The title page of the 1618 quarto of *Amends for Ladies* shows the play having been played by both Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Prince's company (ref 089). The court payment records at this time suggest that there was a degree of interchangeability with regard to who was the payee for performances by Prince Charles's Men and the Lady Elizabeth's Men; Alexander Foster, a member of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, was the payee for four plays performed at court by Prince Charles's Men, and two members of Prince

Charles's Men, William Rowley and John Newton, represented both companies at Privy Council in 1615 (Bentley 1941, 1:176).

### 3.1.1 The evidence provided by doubling

In order for a playing company to be a commercial success, it required a sufficient number of accomplished players to perform the plays of their repertory. Companies were able to improvise and make-do without access to some of the other desirable elements of playing such as permanent playing spaces, custom-made costumes, and properties but the players were an intrinsic part of any company, and to some extent defined the character of their individual companies. The Lady Elizabeth's Men, like other early-modern playing companies, focused its attention upon its star players to emphasise their abilities; Nathan Field, in particular, is highlighted in this way in Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair*. If one of the defining qualities of a company is its players then it becomes important, not only to identify the individual players themselves but also, to look at how individual characters in the plays interact with one another in order to ascertain and define the number of players required to make the company viable.

As part of their work to enumerate the size of the Queen's Men, Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean explore the effects of doubling on the repertory of the Queen's Men. The Lady Elizabeth's Men were a Jacobean not an Elizabethan company, but the principle behind the work of McMillin and MacLean remains valid for the later Jacobean companies. Establishing the size of a playing company, and how the company of players are required to come together in different formations for different plays over the lifetime of the company, helps to identify some of the commercial, and dramatic realities that the company faced, and shows the evolution of the composition of the company over its lifespan. Further investigation can highlight the evolution in the playing practices of the company.

Richard Fotheringham challenges the evidence presented by D.M. Bevington that showed that the Jacobean playing companies had managed to marshal their resources to such an extent that the need for 'the frantic doubling of the Tudor era became unnecessary' (Fotheringham 1985, 18–19). Fotheringham showed that, far from being unnecessary, there are plays within the Jacobean repertory that provide direct evidence

of doubling, including a 1621 revival of Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (1985, 24). By looking at the doubling charts for the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men it is possible to see that both critics have a valid point and that the truth lies somewhere between both positions; there is less of a necessity for 'frantic doubling', but the repertory of the company shows that the necessity for doubling of roles by players did not entirely disappear.

For the purposes of this thesis, in order to establish the size of the company, and the necessity for the company to incorporate doubling into their theatrical practice, doubling charts have been produced for each of the identified plays of the repertory (see Appendix 2). A consistent method of compilation has been used which is based upon the methodology developed by Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, which was in turn based upon guidelines used by William Ringler and David Bradley (McMillin and MacLean 1998, 99–100). By following these guidelines the doubling of roles within the same scene has been avoided; the more complicated scenario of characters that appear in consecutive scenes has also been avoided to ensure that a player exiting as one character at the end of a scene is not immediately brought back onto the stage as a second character at the beginning of the following scene. Players in female roles have not been doubled as male characters because of the costume changes that would be necessary. Additionally I have avoided doubling main character roles except for rare occasions where they enter as a minor, or nonspeaking, character. When a scene calls for unnumbered attendants I have used two; again this follows the examples set by Ringler, Bradley, and McMillin and MacLean. Fotheringham states that it is indeed doubtful if any agreement can be reached on the 'correct' method of establishing doubling patterns within plays (1985, 30) but a consistent methodology allows for comparison across a body of plays such as those forming the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Macmillan and MacLean's analysis of the scenes in which there are the largest numbers of characters gathered on stage at any one point in a play led them to see a high degree of consistency within the numbers of required players for the plays of the Queen's Men. Such scenes identify the minimum number of players that may be required, and helps to establish the total number of players required to execute a

particular play. This approach has been adopted for this particular study of the plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The phrase used by Fotheringham to denote the maximum number of bodies on stage at one point in time is 'the point of saturation' (1985, 22), but this is not necessarily the same as the required number of players to perform a play. On occasion the number of players necessary to stage a play may be more than the number required for the most populated scene. This arises because even with the most creative doubling, some scenes, or transitions between scenes, will require more actors than are called for at the saturation point; a play's saturation need not include its entire cast. A good example of this situation occurring within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men is the play *All's Lost by Lust* (Rowley 1633) which requires only eight players in its most populated scene, but overall needs a minimum of sixteen players in the cast because of the differing combinations of players required. The opposite situation can never be true; because a particular doubling of characters is possible we cannot read into it that the doubling was meant to happen, but it does help to give an indication of the possible minimal size of any one particular company. The point of saturation is most often seen at the end of a play where the players gather on stage for the final culmination of action; this seems to be a deliberate dramatic convention to bring as many of the company onto a stage at one time as possible. The result of this is that nearly all of the players will already be on stage at the culmination of the performance to take the applause of the audience.

The use of doubling is well-established, and allows for a company to utilise its players efficiently so that one player may take on more than more than one role. This means that the company is able to reduce the required number of players to a workable minimum with the benefit of a reduced payroll for the company, and an enhanced profit for the sharers of the company. Beyond financial reasons for minimising the size of the company other, more theatrical, reasons for doubling exist. Untrained players when they first start performing with the company may initially play several non-speaking roles, and as their skill levels increase gradually incorporate small speaking roles into their performances. In this way a company is able to provide a learning, and training opportunity for new players to allow them to develop their skills which will ultimately benefit the company. Sometimes major characters may double in order to make a dramatic point, although for practical reasons this is not common. It is a practice that

‘issues from the playwright as much as it does from inventive directors’ (Calderwood 1991, 410) and is what A.C. Sprague would call ‘virtuous’ doubling (1966, 14). An early modern company would also implement doubling in other ways. Plays that call for a large number of musicians or dancers could use them for walk-on silent parts or small speaking roles. Such musicians would have a working knowledge of the dramatic skills required and would be able to take on these roles. Plays within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men where doubling of a musician for a player’s role is a possibility include *Bartholomew Fair* where Nightingale the ballad singer could be doubled with the small role of Haggis the watchman, or *The Dutch Courtesan* where Franchesina could take on silent roles. From both a commercial perspective and from a theatrical one there are many benefits for a company to engage in doubling.

For this study, besides the main characters not being doubled, and female characters only doubling as other female characters, other necessary doubling restrictions have been applied. Because of the difficulty in rapidly changing costumes with tie fastenings where a character has specialised make-up or costuming they have not been doubled unless there is at least at least one intervening scene to allow for the changing of costumes. Some make-ups, of course, do not easily allow for doubling between two characters; make-up to alter skin tone was available to players and was used and referred to by Ben Jonson in his masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (Stevens 2007, 2). If the Moor in *The Noble Bondman* had been made up with such make-up to give him a Moor-like appearance he would not be able to double as a character with white skin throughout the play. The characters in *The Sun’s Darling* (Dekker 1656) are difficult to double which suggests that the play was written in such a manner so as not to require players to take on more than one character; the play has the smallest requirement for players of all the plays within the recognised repertory of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men.

The repertory of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men identified within this thesis totals 25 extant plays. These plays have requirements that vary from 12 to 22 players, with overall average of 16 players being required; the largest need for players is almost double that of the smallest play. At first glance there appears to be no discernible pattern to the doubling requirements of the company. Looking at individual plays gives an



indication of overall cast size for the Lady Elizabeth's Men and shows some unusual, or unexpected variants. Nathan Field's play *Amends for Ladies* is one of the earliest plays within the repertory of the company. It is unusual within the repertory because the writer Nathan Field was also known to be a player within the company. As a player of the company Field would have known exactly how many players the company had available to stage his play, and perhaps more importantly the strengths and abilities of each of the individual players. It would have been within Field's own commercial interests, as well as those of the company, to write a play that would showcase not only his writing talents, but those of his fellow players. *Amends for Ladies* has one of the smallest player requirements for players of the whole repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men; the play calls for a total of 14 players, four of whom would have been boy players taking on female roles. The bond signed with Henslowe in August 1611 shows 12 adult members of the company placing the play well within the physical performance capabilities of the company (ref 004). The title page of the play states that it was acted by 'both the Princes Servant, and the Lady Elizabeth's' which can be taken to mean that the companies came together to perform the play but looking at the doubling possibilities for the play it is obvious that this was unnecessary meaning that the companies probably performed the same play but at different times.

Looking specifically at the earlier part of the company's output, four of the five plays call for the very few players. In order to stage these plays the company would need a total of only 13 or 14 players; this is easily achievable by the 12 players who signed bonds with Henslowe if boy players are also added. This is within the range of the company as described in the patent presented at Coventry in 1615 (ref 069). Of the earlier plays *Chabot, Admiral of France* is an inherited play brought into the company probably through the transmission route of Henslowe, or perhaps brought by one of the members of the company. Lucy Munro contends that the Children of the Queen's Revels was the company that played *Amends for Ladies* when it was a new play; if this is the case the play must then have found its way into the repertory of Lady Elizabeth's Men via Nathan Field who was a former boy player of the Queen's Revels. As *The Night Walkers* and *Match me in London* (Dekker 1631) appear a little later in the company's development they are more likely to have been written specifically for the

company in a bid to provide content. This quartet of plays are consistent in the requirement of 13 to 14 players to make a performance viable.

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* is another play of the early repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men but its need for players is far greater than that of the other early plays. It was first performed by the company on 31 October 1614 at the Hope, and then at court the following day. Within the play are references to Nathan Field who was a member of the company at that time. The play calls for an extraordinary number of characters, with more than 30 individually named characters appearing; this is perhaps more than would have been available to a single company consisting of 12 adult players. By doubling characters the required number of actors becomes a minimum of 22 but this is still well in excess of the number of players in the company. The problem arises because of the point of saturation that arises in the final scene; 20 characters with speaking roles are on stage simultaneously meaning that none of these can be doubled one with another. From a dramatic point of view this gives the audience the feel of a busy bustling market place but it leaves a problem with fulfilling the character requirements.

*Bartholomew Fair* calls for a large number of silent walk-on parts that are here doubled with speaking roles, but the final scenes call for spoken lines from each of the characters on stage, with the exception of Mistress Overdo who is in a slumped sleep for most of the scene, as she has been for several of the preceding scenes. The play also demands an unusually large number of boy players. Of all the company's plays only five call for six or more boy players, and of these *The Night Walkers*, *No Wit/No Help like a Woman's*, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* along with *Bartholomew Fair* all belong to the early repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. These plays must have been acquired, or written, for the company with some thought that the number of boys available to play them could easily be accommodated. This strengthens the argument for the existence at some point of a combined company of the Prince's Men and the Lady Elizabeth's Men in a way that *Amends for Ladies* does not. Court payment records demonstrate that there was an interchangeability between the payees of the two companies suggesting that there was some degree of co-operation in place, if not a full merger of activities. Thomas Middleton was responsible for two of these early plays with a requirement for

six or more boy players; It seems incomprehensible that a playwright of Middleton's experience would have written a play that was not capable of being performed by the company for whom he wrote so *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's* must have been written with a specific playing company in mind.

Evidence from the title page of the printing of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* shows that it was played at the Swan (ref 168), whilst the prologue of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* states its debut was at the Hope. These outdoor amphitheatre playhouses had larger stages than those found at the indoor theatres. The larger stage was perhaps a necessary requirement for a play with the casting requirements of 22 for *Bartholomew Fair*, which may have required the enlarged cast of both the Prince's Men and the Lady Elizabeth's Men, but a larger stage may not have been a necessity for the smaller, but still larger than normal requirement of 17 for *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. We have no knowledge of where *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's* was first performed but given its saturation scene requirement of 20 a large outdoor stage would seem to be the most likely setting. Looking again at the title pages for *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* and *Bartholomew Fair* they mention only the Lady Elizabeth's Men; this is in contrast to *Amends for Ladies* which also incorporates the Prince's Men on its title page. Instead of a temporary merger of the two companies, the situation was perhaps simply a sharing of resources, in order to enable them both to perform within the competitive London market. At the time both of these companies were struggling to gain audience recognition against the more established companies. What they had in common was that they had emerged from the small London community of boys playing companies. We know from Henslowe's records that there was collaborative playwriting, and we have seen that the two companies shared payees at court; it is only a small stretch to suggest that within a coterie of ex-boy players there may have been sufficient camaraderie and cooperation to enable some sharing of playing resources.

As the Lady Elizabeth's Men became more established, and grew in reputation it needed to develop its repertory beyond the plays it had inherited, and sought to commission new plays that suited the composition, and strengths, of the company. The post 1610 plays from *All's Lost by Lust* onwards show an average of 16 players required to perform the plays with totals ranging from 12 to 21. The play requiring the fewest

number of players is *The Sun's Darling* written in the style of a masque for an indoor playhouse. Some of the other plays of the later repertory had requirements calling for up to 21 players so a play calling for only ten adult players and two boys would have been well within their playing capabilities.

The play that is at odds with the rest of the later repertory is Thomas Heywood's *The Captives* which has the largest need for players with its saturation scene calling for 21 characters. By grouping the silent characters together, it is possible to reduce the number of players down to 14 men and five boys, which is more in line with the expected size of the company. All of the plays of the later repertory can be performed by no more than 14 men; it is the number of boys required that provides the most variation. The later plays are mostly all written, or re-licensed, for the indoor Cockpit/Phoenix; there is no evidence to suggest that the company was using the larger amphitheatre type playhouses at this point in its existence. This might lead to the suggestion that the later plays would need fewer players within the company but this is not borne out by the analysis of the player requirement for each play.

It is somewhat ironic that the last play performance that is associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, a company that strove to establish its own identity, is John Cooke's play *Greene's Tu Quoque*. The Greene of the title was the player Thomas Greene who took on the central clownish role of Bubble when it was first performed in 1611 by Queen Anne's Men. Greene's success in this role was such that the play became known by his name rather than its original name of *The City Gallant*. The Lady Elizabeth's Men ended their existence in the same situation as it started with a play written for another company highlighting the role of a player not of its own.

### 3.1.2 Other evidence provided by the plays

The plays of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men can be broadly divided into three categories: inherited plays, early-commissioned plays, and Phoenix playhouse plays. Each of these categories has a different requirement for its staging. It is also possible to see a movement through genres as the company adapts to its changing circumstances.

## 3.2 Inherited Plays

Inherited plays are those that have been associated with a previous company before they became the performance property of Lady Elizabeth's Men. There are two main company sources for these plays: the Children of the Queen's Revels and the Queen Anne's Men. The plays from the Children of the Queen's Revels are *Amends for Ladies*, *The Dutch Courtesan*, *Eastward Ho*, and *Cupid's Revenge*. Those from the Queen Anne's Men are *Match Me in London* and *Greene's Tu Quoque*. This separation shows two things: those plays from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels are seen early in the lifetime of the Lady Elizabeth's Men when the company had an unstable situation, whilst the plays from the Queen Anne's Men appear much later in the life of the company when it had achieved some degree of stability.

A third minor category of inherited plays exists which is ambiguous in its nature. There are plays that would appear to be inherited by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, but the dating, or their provenance, or indeed both, is such that there is no evidence to directly link them with the company; *Chabot*, *Admiral of France* and *All's Lost by Lust* fit into this category of difficult plays. Elements within each of the plays shows that they do not sit easily within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the point at which it has previously been suggested. *Chabot*, *Admiral of France* is listed by Alfred Harbage for the Lady Elizabeth's Men with a date range of 1611-22. This would cover the period from their inception to their return to commercial London playing. By genre the play does not fit easily within the early repertory of the company which is biased towards comedies with clowning elements and music.

### 3.2.1 Inherited plays from the Children of the Queen's Revels: *Amends for Ladies*; *The Dutch Courtesan*; *Eastward Ho*; *Cupid's Revenge*

These plays form part of the early repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

#### *Amends for Ladies*

Nathan Field's play *Amends for Ladies* written for the Children of the Queen's Revels, like the other three plays acquired by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, from the repertory of the Queen's Revels is a comedy. Field became a key player with the Lady Elizabeth's Men in their early years.

The play calls for a company of 11 adult players plus four parts requiring boys. The play opens with the three main female characters on stage discussing the best state of relationship for women and ends with a decision that being married is obviously the best option. A play that makes prominent these female roles, played by boys, calls for great skill from the boys taking these parts. This is not surprising for a play that comes from the repertory of the most eminent of the boys playing companies. It is quite possible the Queen's Revels' plays were familiar to the players of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, many of whom had connections with the Revels company. The detailed doubling carried out for this play shows an anomaly when Lord Fee-Simple's father, referred to as the Count, appears only once in the play, during the last scene, at such a point where he cannot be doubled by a player taking another role. This seems to be a deliberate ploy and such a role would lend itself to a cameo performance perhaps by the presence of an older retired actor of good standing

The staging calls for much of the action to take place in the mercantile setting of Seldome's shop in London whilst other scenes take place in the more intimate domestic settings of bedchambers and other interior rooms. Beds play a central part in the play and are often referred to but only in two scenes is a bed actually called for on stage. In the scene with Well-trying, Bould and Fee-simple, Bould returns home after failing to seduce the Widow to find Fee-simple asleep in the bed recovering from a drunken night. The bed is then again seen with the stage direction 'A curtaine drawne, a bed discover'd, Ingen with his sword in his hand, and a Pistol, the Ladie in a petticoate, the Parson.' (Field 1618, H3r). The action at the end of the play might easily have called for a property bed but instead the audience are shown a voyeuristic scene with characters peering through a window to see what is happening within an imagined off-stage bedchamber.

One of the defining aspects of the play is the use of disguise. The central disguise is that of Bould's comedic dressing as the maid to Lady Bright that allows the audience to see and enjoy the deception whilst the staged characters do not. Even the name that Bould adopts as a woman, Princox, is suggestive of a male figure rather than of a woman. *OED* shows the early seventeenth century usage of Princocks to mean a 'pert, saucy, vain, or insolent boy or young man' which is redolent of Bould's characteristics.

Whilst Bould's disguise is perhaps the more central and obvious to the play, Lady Honour passes herself off as an Irish boy, and Frank disguises himself as a woman, meaning that not only do the characters disguise themselves but they all do so whilst cross-dressing, with Lady Honor and Frank making a more convincing switch when compared to Bould. The use of disguise, although common in much of the period's drama, is especially frequent in the plays of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. It would appear that the company inherited plays with this feature, and then went out of their way to make this a permanent feature of their repertory as it developed.

#### *The Dutch Courtesan*

This is another play that the Lady Elizabeth's Men inherited from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels. The Lady Elizabeth's Men performed the play at court on two occasions: 25 February and 12 December in 1613. The first performance coincided with the celebrations of the marriage of their patron Lady Elizabeth Stuart. A new company might not be prepared to risk a new play at court on such an auspicious occasion, so the choice of an old play from the Children of the Queen's Revels is understandably conservative, as well as pragmatic given that the play was available for its use.

*The Dutch Courtesan*, by John Marston, calls for a similar number of players as *Amends for Ladies*; there are 15 players in total, of which 5 are female roles for boys. The key role of Cockledemoy is a comic part which relies for much of its humour on the clowning skills of the player. Over time the name of the character became an alternative name for the play. Cockledemoy uses disguises and they are all known to the audience, unlike those in *Amends for Ladies* where the audience is kept somewhat in the dark. Cockledemoy appears as a barber, a pander, a bellman, and a sergeant, each time in an attempt to gull the Mulligrubs who fulfil a similar role to that of the Seldomes in *Amends for Ladies*.

The play also features a linguistic element that often reappears within the plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Franchesina's Dutch accent seems to be exaggerated. Language play is used as a comic feature but also suggests that within the company there may have been members with well-developed linguistic abilities

The staging of *The Dutch Courtesan* calls for various settings. The Mulligrubs' tavern is the scene for much of the action including that of a feast featuring a side of salmon. Mary Faugh's brothel also features as a setting where the audience is taken inside the dwelling, but the wooing of Beatrice take place outside of her home when she appears above on a balcony. These stagings would have to be replicated by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in whichever playhouse it found itself in, as the original staging would have been designed for the Blackfriars, the regular venue used by the Children of the Queen's Revels. The use of lighting cues throughout is then not surprising for a play that started with the Children of the Queen's Revels in the Blackfriars.

Another aspect of the play that betrays its previous existence as a play of the Children of the Queen's Revels is the element of music within the play; the Children of the Queen's Revels were particularly well known for the quality of their musical performances. Franceshina sings whilst playing a lute, and Freeville sings to Beatrice and Crispinella. The masque, for which the only direction given is 'Enter the Masquers, they daunce', must by way of its nature also feature music. This was an element of playing for which the Revels company was well known.

#### *Eastward Ho*

A company of 14 in total, of whom four roles are for boys, is called for to perform *Eastward Ho*. This is not a dissimilar number to that required by both *Amends for Ladies* and *The Dutch Courtesan*.

The setting for the play is London and opens at the goldsmith's shop of the Touchstone family, who like the Seldomes in *Amends for Ladies*, are concerned for the marriage prospects of their daughters. Stage directions for the play are specific about costuming, especially for the character of Quicksilver who is attempting to make a financially advantageous marriage and so dresses himself as he thinks a gentleman ought. The character of Beatrice with whom he is matched is also seen to dress in an extravagant manner which she feels signifies social status. Beatrice's first appearance on stage calls for her to be 'leading a monkey' as a fashionable accessory (1.2.0 *sd*). The tavern scenes with Seagull, Spendall, and Scrapthrift allow for them to 'daunce the dronken round, and drinke carowses' but other than a short sung verse by Gyrtrude



there is little call for music in the play, certainly not for the solo vocals and playing that are heard in *The Dutch Courtesan*.

Slitgut's discovery of Cuckold's Haven implies that there is something that signifies a boat on the stage as he says 'oh me, here's a Boate that has beene cast away hard by' (1979, 4.1.24-5).

### *Cupid's Revenge*

The Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher play *Cupid's Revenge* comes to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men from the Children of the Queen's Revels but differs from the three plays previously discussed. It became a part of the repertory during the time when the company was resident at the Phoenix playhouse. John Astington, in his essay about the play, describes it as 'a valuable theatrical commodity' and one that the King's Men failed to acquire in the 1620s (Astington 1979, 218). This seems to be the time that the play was acquired by the Lady Elizabeth's Men which fits in with it being played at the Phoenix. The playing requirement is for a company of at least 16 players, which includes five boys, and a dwarf to play the character of Zoylous. The essential nature of the play is not that of a comedy but that of a tragicomedy, with deaths arising as a consequence of angering cupid, but with many comedic moments. The cursing of Hidaspes to fall in love with Zoylous the dwarf brings to mind Titania and Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, although unlike Bottom Zoylous ends up dead. The move back to London under the management of Christopher Beeston signals a change in direction for the company with more tragedy, and tragicomedy entering the repertory. The move to the indoor playhouse also gave the company the opportunity to use stage machinery that may not have been available to it previously, and certainly not when it was a touring company. The entry of Cupid from above at the beginning of scenes would have used such machinery.

### 3.2.2 Inherited plays from the Queen Anne's Players: *Match Me in London*; *Greene's Tu Quoque*

These two plays from the repertory of the Queen Anne's Players fall much later in life of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

### *Match Me in London*

Thomas Dekker's play *Match Me in London* was re-licensed as an old play for the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1623 (ref 129). The play is set in Spain and opens with a night scene and the sounds of a clock chiming midnight. Night scenes play a prominent part within the plays of the company, especially amongst the later plays staged at the Cockpit/Phoenix.

The number of players called for at first glance appears to be high, with 16 players required to cover all the parts. Of these parts four could be taken by supernumeraries as the gentlewomen, guards, and various 'others' are either mute or have few lines of significance other than exhortations. The printed 'dramatis personæ' in the 1631 printed version of the play shows an unusual feature of the play in relation to performance by the Lady Elizabeth's Men (Dekker 1631, A1r). The total of speaking female roles is only three and if the parts of Queen and Dildoman are doubled only two boy players would be required. This is a departure from the other plays that we know to have formed a part of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The early playing company had a number of plays where the parts for boys were numerous. This anomaly strongly suggests that the play was not written specifically for the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and that it came into the repertory from another company, most probably that of the Queen Anne's Men as tentatively suggested by Alfred Harbage (1964, 98–99). It was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men on 21 August 1623 as an old play that was to be re-allowed (ref 129).

The staging of *Match Me in London* does not call for any unusual settings. Once again we see a commercial setting of a shop where one would expect to see some shoes and perhaps some tools of the cobbler's trade. This would also suggest some specific costuming in the form perhaps of leather aprons and some stock.

Staging for the play seems to be regular with no irregularities of note. Scenes are set in Cordolente's shop as this is yet another play involving tradesmen and their businesses. The play does not make clear which trade Cordolente follows but in the shop scene (2.1) various items are offered for sale: 'fine garters, gloves, glasses, girdles' (2.1.110). The shop is seen only once in the play, at the beginning of Act 2, which suggests that there was a time requirement to set the scene which was not considered

worth repeating. All other scenes are domestic scenes set either at Malevento's dwelling or at court.

Another feature of the play is the playing of a dumb show. This scene calls for 14 players on stage at the same time and is the saturation point of the play, which is confirmed by the doubling evidence. The dumb show asks for the two friars to 'set out an altar' which must have been a simple affair requiring only 2 players to carry it; a simple table with a cloth, a cross and candles would be sufficient to suggest an altar.

Disguise features within the play with Gazetto, Tormiella's spurned betrothed chosen by her father, disguising himself so that he can enter the king's service to plot his revenge. He further disguises himself as a doctor of law from which disguise Tormiella recognises him and asks 'Are you not a woollen-Draper?' (5.2.4). Cordolente appears disguised in 4.4 as a shoe-maker.

This play lacks significant scenes of physical action and comedy; in this respect it is unlike other plays of the repertory. This seems to be a function of the play coming at a later point in the life of the company and from a company other than one with which the players had previously had a relationship. Again language play is important; the disguised Gazetto claims the ability to speak English, Irish, Dutch, Welsh, French, Spanish, and Italian (3.2.110-8), using each to generate national caricature.

#### *Greene's Tu Quoque*

John Cooke's play *Greene's Tu Quoque* is one of the last plays associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Like *Match Me in London* it has been attributed to be part of the 1611 repertory of the Queen Anne's Men by Alfred Harbage before it became part of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men (Harbage 1964, 98–99). The play has become known by its popular name that foregrounds one of the characters, the clown Bubble who is known for his verbal tic 'tu quoque' which he repeats throughout the play. This emphasis upon a particular character is also seen with the character Cockledemoy in *The Dutch Courtesan* by whose name that play became commonly known. In both instances the character is a comic force within the play. We know that the 'Green' referred to in the printed title of Cooke's play was Thomas Greene, the comic player, as the play contains the line 'Why, then, we'll go to the Red Bull; they say Greene's a good clown' (Cooke 1614, G2v). Greene did not perform for the Lady Elizabeth's men

but given the emphasis on a comic character the company must have contained an actor of equal capability.

The play calls for a company of 15 players in total to cover all the 33 individually named parts, of which only one is entirely mute. The total of 15 includes the necessity for four boy players to take on female roles. The play, in common with *Amends for Ladies*, calls for an elderly character who appears only in the final scene in a role for which it is not possible to double with an already-existing character. A cameo role such as this could be used to introduce the writer or maybe a well-known but possibly retired player. The Q1 printing of the play contains a dedication 'Upon the death of Thomas Greene' (1614, A2v) and a frontispiece by Thomas Heywood praises both the dead author and Greene the dead player.

The staging for the play incorporates the mercantile setting of mercer's shop with merchandise in the form of linens, handkerchiefs and fine fabrics apparently available on stage. The stage direction 'A mercer's shop discovered, Gartred working in it, Spendall walking by the shop: M Balance walking over the stage: after him Longfield and Geraldine' (1614, B1r) suggests that the scene actually takes place in the street outside of the shop, which would then leave Gartred somewhat obscured from the audience. Further action takes place in a bar setting which, whilst not explicit, is referred to by Spendall sending the drawer away to bring more ipocras for the men to drink.

3.2.3 Ambiguous/other inherited Plays: *Chabot, Admiral of France*; *All's Lost by Lust*  
George Chapman's play *Chabot, Admiral of France*, with licensed revisions in 1635 by James Shirley, is attributed to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Alfred Harbage (1964, 114–15). However, it is difficult to place the play within the repertory of the company. Harbage gives a general dating of the play from 1611 to 1622 but the focus of the early plays of the company was towards comedy rather than towards history or tragedy; the later plays tend toward tragedy but there is little evidence of history plays within the repertory. The company had plays from both Chapman and Shirley within its repertory making more precise dating difficult. Chapman's collaboratively written play *Eastward Ho* was performed by the company in 1611, but as this was an inherited play any opportunity for the writer to have the Lady Elizabeth's

Men in mind writer was non-existent. James Shirley's play *Loves Tricks or The School of Compliment* (Shirley 1631) was licensed by Herbert and performed in 1624 (ref 139).

The staging of *Chabot, Admiral of France* calls for large law court scenes of pageantry and processions, but on these occasions many of the onstage characters are simply there to add pomp to the proceedings. The specific stage directions for these scenes simply call for a bar. The costuming would need to be appropriate for a law court but such requirements are not above the ordinary of that expected by a performance company to have at their disposal. This play does not include many of the aspects that one would often associate with performance of plays by the Lady Elizabeth's Men; no music called for, no dancing, nor comedy acrobatics, no sword play, nor any comic interludes. It does not sit easily within the repertory of the company. Unusually the call for boy players is also untypical for the company with only two roles for female characters. In this respect it is similar to the play *Match Me in London*.

#### *All's Lost by Lust*

William Rowley's tragedy *All's Lost by Lust* has a declared link to the company on the title page of the 1633 quarto edition of the play (ref 177). Despite this, Alfred Harbage links the play to the Prince's Men as the company of first production in 1619 (1964, 110–11). The link to the Prince's Men is primarily through Rowley himself who was a known player with that company. The list of 'Characters in the Play' given in the quarto edition indicates that Rowley took on the role of Jacques, 'a simple clownish Gentleman [. . .], personated by the Poet' (1633, A1v), but Rowley had further links with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The 1616 agreement between Edward Alleyn, as executor of Henslowe's will, and several players from both the Prince's and Lady Elizabeth's Men, of which Rowley was a signatory, shows that a merger of some sort took place between the two companies (ref 076) and so provides a positive link with the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

The play is a tragedy, which is not typical of the very early repertory of the company but with the inclusion of Rowley in the cast as the clownish character Jacques, there are some elements that make it so.

### **3.3 Early Commissioned Plays: *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*; *The Night Walkers*; *The Honest Man's Fortune*; *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's*; *Bartholomew Fair*; *Wit Without Money*; *Monsieur Thomas***

Whilst the inherited plays can tell us something about the early Lady Elizabeth's Men, the plays that the company commissioned itself show more about what it was able to produce when it was in a position to stipulate exactly what was required. The plays could be commissioned to suit the company for size, and style, and to suit specific playing places, and availability of players.

The evidence surrounding the process of commissioning plays early in the repertory for the Lady Elizabeth's Men comes, in the main, from the letters of Robert Daborne to Philip Henslowe. The Office Book of Sir Henry Herbert gives some details about the licensing of new plays for the company towards the latter part of its existence. Both sources rely upon a theatrical intermediary. We know through the agreements with Henslowe that the company relied upon him to provide material for playing. By the time that the company found itself housed at the Cockpit/Phoenix, Christopher Beeston had taken over this role as provider to the company of both playing material and playing venue. What this means for the Lady Elizabeth's Men is that it seemingly had little agency over the dramas that it was to perform and relied upon this external provider. Henslowe and Beeston were both successful in the realm of theatre business and their expertise and patronage was a valuable asset to the company, even if the company did later go on to reject Henslowe's influence.

The series of letters from early 1613 show that Daborne was writing specifically named plays for Henslowe's company: *Machiavel and the Devil* (refs: 021; 022; 034) and *The Arraignment of London* (refs 030; 032; 033), both of which are now lost. At the dates of writing Henslowe had the Lady Elizabeth's Men under contract to play for him; from this fact it is a reasonable assumption that the plays commissioned by Henslowe at this time were for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The letters also disclose that Daborne was working in collaboration with Nathan Field and Philip Massinger, both of whom had links with the company.

A letter from Nathan Field to Philip Henslowe notes how ‘Mr Daborne and I, have spent a great deal of time in conference about this play’ (ref 035). The letters disclose payment practices which may be peculiar to the relationship between Daborne and Henslowe. The agreed sum for a play was £20 of which £10 was paid as an advance upon initial commissioning with the rest to be paid upon completion. The details of the payment arrangements are evident because of letters detailing Daborne’s seemingly entrenched habit of delivering plays late, and then asking for additional advances and time to allow for him to finish them. The letters also detail some of the process of transmitting the play to the playing company. The play *Machiavel and the Devil* is sent to the company in sections as Daborne completes each section. In his letter of 20 October 1613 Daborne details how many sheets he has sent to the company explaining that he has delivered ‘2 sheets more so that you have 10 sheets’ (ref 029).

From the letter of 16 May 1613 there is evidence of an approval mechanism in place for the completed, or close to completed plays. Daborne writes that he is ‘unwilling to read to the general company till all be finished’ (ref 027) thereby suggesting that this is normal practice as he suggests the alternative option of reading to Henslowe and Alleyn only.

#### *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*

The title page of Thomas Middleton’s play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* states that it was performed by the Lady Elizabeth’s Men at the Swan on Bankside (ref 168). The staging would have been designed for the outdoor theatre of the Swan, but the company probably vacated that as a playing venue some time in 1613 which allows us to date the play to the company as an early play of the repertory. The play calls for an unusually high number of players. The doubling analysis shows a saturation point in the last scene of the play which calls for 13 players on stage simultaneously, but the deployment of players in different combinations necessitates some 23 players in total. The 1630 print edition of the play contains ‘The Names of the principall Persons’ which lists 17 names characters plus two promoters (characters acting as godparents to new-born child), and unnumbered servants and watermen (Middleton 1630, A1v); the five gossips called for in the play itself are not referred to in the ‘Names of principall Persons’. These parts are small and they appear together in scenes 2.4 and 3.2 which are dominated by female

roles taken by boy players. Scene 2.4 requires 9 female characters on stage at one point, with scene 3.2 requiring 10 players to take on female roles.

The foregrounding of female parts is seen through the emphasis given to the songs in the play which are all performed by female characters. Boy players were generally recruited for their musical talents and their sweeter unbroken voices, and this was particularly true of the Children of the Queen's Revels; it is therefore not surprising to see songs and music being showcased in this play. The Welsh Gentlewoman is given a song 'Cupid is Venus's only joy' introduced with the words 'Thou shalt here sweet Musicke' (1630, H1r), bringing together the supposed Welsh talent of singing with the talent of a musical boy player. Moll is introduced to sing 'Weep Eyes, Break Heart' (Middleton 1630, I4v) after which 'She plays the Swan, and sings her selfe to death'. Music is important at the end of the play to set the mood of the death of the young lovers as the audience hear 'Recorders dolefully playing' (Middleton 1630, k2r) with 'a sad song in the Musicke Roome (1630, k2v).

The play has few references to lights, lamps, or candles. Those that do occur all appear within the same scene (Middleton 1630, G1v). Plays that have been written for the indoor stage, such as *The Night Walkers*, have many more references to light than are seen here in a play written for the outdoor Swan.

### *The Night Walkers*

Doubling analysis shows that John Fletcher's play *The Night Walkers* requires 14 players to cover the 12 individually named roles and the many unnamed gentlemen, servants, bell-ringers and women. Of the 14 players, seven are boys to cover the female roles and the part of Snap the boy. Once again there is a high proportion of boy players.

The play relies upon a comedic double act of a particularly physical nature between the boy player who takes the role of Snap and the adult player Tom Lurcher. The robbery scenes involve acrobatics with Snap being carried on Lurcher's shoulders. Another secondary comedic pairing joins the characters Wildbrain and Toby. It is not only the mistaken identity courtship of Wildbrain which produces on-going comedic moments throughout the play, with love-lorn Toby lusting after a worried Wildbrain, but also the farcically comic bell-ringing scenes:



[...] Bell-ringing  
They are at it lustily; hay how wantonly  
They ring away their clothes, how it delights me  
(4.3.49-50)

Fletcher must have been sure as he wrote the play that the company had the talented personnel required to perform such feats of physical comedy.

Much use is made of the doors on stage, but no use appears to be made of above space, perhaps because the space was expected to be occupied by musicians. There is, however little within the play that suggests a great deal of song or dance. There is no indication of dancing at the wedding as all the ladies spend their time consoling Maria; one of the Justices' servants twice sings a song from a ballad sheet that he has just purchased, but he may be unaccompanied and nowhere else in the play is there any indication of the requirement for music. This seems unusual in a play that needs seven boys to cover the female roles in full.

The lighting of the stage is important within the text of the play; there are recurrent references to an absence of light. This is to be expected in a play where much of the action, as the title implies, takes place at night. The more comedic moments seem to be those where the darkness is alluded to the most: the robbery scene at the wedding, the graveyard scene where Maria's ghost is discovered, and the bell-ringing scene all explicitly mention lighting. The darkness provides a mask for the indeterminacy of skulduggery and mischief that takes place.

One of the comedic episodes in the play dwells upon the bell-ringers and the wager that Tobie and Wildbrain undertake to prove that they could ring the correct changes by listening to the bells, rather than by observing when the other ringers in the bell-tower pull their ropes. The proof of the claim, and the subsequent gulling of Toby and Wildbrain, relies upon the cover of darkness for the characters on the stage, but a complete stage blackout would prevent an audience witnessing the comedy. Thus Toby gives a cue to the ringers to 'Put all the lights out, to what end serve our eyes then' (4.3.31) to prove his prowess:

Out with the lights, no twinkling of a candle,  
I know my rope too, as I know my nose,  
And can bang it soundly i'th' dark, I warrant you  
(4.3.39-41)

Bells play a prominent role in the play. We know that the Admiral's Men owned theatrical bells since Henslowe's inventory of that company's properties in 1598 lists 'ii stepells, & I chime of belles, & I beacon' (Henslowe 1961, 319). This suggests that it was not unreasonable for a company to have a physical structure, resembling a church steeple, that was capable of holding church-type bells. *The Night Walkers* could make good use of such a property.

#### *The Honest Man's Fortune*

The doubling analysis for *The Honest Man's Fortune* shows that it requires a playing company of at least 14 players including only four boys, significantly fewer than that called for by *The Night Walkers*. The play exists in two forms: a licensed manuscript which is dated 8 February 1625 and a slightly different version of the play in the 1679 Beaumont and Fletcher folio. The folio edition of the play has a short additional scene of servants setting out for a dinner, and a slightly different ending, but these differences from the manuscript do not alter the doubling needs. At the end of the play printed in the folio there is a list of players who had performed it, including Nathan Field, Emanuel Read, Joseph Taylor, William Ecclestone and Thomas Bass; these are all players who are associated with the early Lady Elizabeth's Men. Within these men is likely to be the comic pairing that leads to the establishment of a double act.

Again, like *The Night Walkers*, at the centre of the comedy of the play is a comic double act. The characters of Laverdure and Lapoop are always on stage together and although their story is to be found mainly in the subplot they provide much of the comedic entertainment of the play. Physical comedy is provided through some rather inept sword-fighting and shooting of pistols. The use of disguise as a comedic device is typical of the later repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, with the audience often not aware that disguising of a character has taken place. The unveiling of Charlotte at the end of the play when she is wooed by Laverdure provides such a moment.

The use of music within the play is minimal, with only one song noted within the stage directions; this is sung by Viramore to Lady Lamira so is probably a love song. The staging of the play presents few challenges beyond the use of doors with multiple characters occasionally appearing at separate doors.

*No Wit/No Help Like A Woman's*

Unlike the simple staging requirements of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, Thomas Middleton's play *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's* presents several difficulties. The cast is vast with the saturation scene requiring 17 people with speaking parts on stage at one time with three additional masquers. Overall, the requirement for performance is a total of 19 players, of whom six are boys. Two scenes demand a high number of players on stage at once; the banqueting scene and the final scene. Weatherwise's feast calls for six silent 'tenants' to take part in the banquet which brings the total number of feasters to 12. The servants carry on 12 signs of the zodiac which are described as 'made like banqueting-stuff' suggesting that they could be decorated plates for chargers; this would make them large enough for the audience to see but small and easily carried by the players. 'Banqueting stuff' could also indicate that the signs are made out of food; in his play *The Witch* Middleton suggests that 'banqueting stuff' indicates food of some sort:

Gaspero:  
I'll send you ven'son, custard, pasnip pie.  
For banqueting stuff—as suckets, jellies, syrups--  
I will bring in myself.  
(1.1.66-8)

The final scene is the point at which most characters assemble on stage at once. Unlike the banqueting scene, where the tenants are mute, the majority of players in the concluding scene of the play speak.

This play is unusual in comparison to other plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men because of its requirement for so many supernumerary players; there are at least five players with either no lines, or just a few insignificant lines. The masque-like element of the presentation of the winds is the highlight and the conclusion of the play. Costumes are required to depict each of the four winds in this concluding scene to make an extravagant final gesture.

### *Bartholomew Fair*

Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* presents considerable staging challenges for any playing company. The play is known to have been first performed on consecutive days: firstly at the Hope playhouse, and then at court for the king. The play needs to be adaptable to the two different stages which the use of moveable booths would have simplified; they could be simply dismantled and taken up the river by barge to Whitehall for the royal performance.

Doubling analysis shows that 22 players would be required to stage it, of whom six need to be boy players playing female roles. This is more than any other play in the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

The practicalities of playing were also difficult. The play calls for multiple booths for the stall holders of the fair. Gabriel Egan's interpretation of these as 'similar in construction to the daises and thrones of state that were often called for in plays to represent the trading places of merchants, or throne settings for monarchs' suggests how these may have looked (Egan 1998). The use of booths itself is not exceptional, but the play calls for more than one on stage at a time to represent the various stalls and pitches of the fair. Presumably their construction was of a temporary nature, easily pitched and taken down, but at the same time robust enough to withstand performance and transportation.

### *Wit without Money*

The company required to play *Wit Without Money* (Fletcher and Beaumont 1639) is much smaller than that called for by *Bartholomew Fair* and *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's*, and of course cutting down on hired men maximizes the profit to the sharers of a playing company. It is possible to play *Wit Without Money* with only 15 players in total, of whom three are boys playing the female roles. Unusually, the final scene calls for musicians to be on the stage, which happens in no other plays considered in this thesis. The musicians are effectively mute, sharing only the single line 'Gentlemen that sent us to give the Lady a good morrow' (5.5.38) as they are instructed by Vallentine to 'Lead chearefully, and let your fiddles ring boyes' in celebration at the end of the play (Fletcher and Beaumont 1639, I3v).

We might expect that the musicians are brought on stage to receive acknowledgement of their contribution to the overall performance, but in fact there are few direct stage instructions that show where music has been incorporated into the play other than one short song from Vallentine (5.5.53-60).

As seen with other plays within the repertory, there is a clown who is a central character. Here Shorthose, the servant to Isabella, usually appears with Roger, Ralph, and Humphrey, who are also part of Isabella's household. Shorthose indulges in verbal wit with Isabella and Luce often talking in riddles such as when he describes Vallentine as 'a man, and yet no man' (2.3.10).

### *Monsieur Thomas*

Music plays a more prominent part in *Monsier Thomas* (Fletcher 1639) than is seen in other commissioned plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. A musician is required to play the fiddle on stage, and singing nuns and sailors are seen and heard on stage. The ballad *Maudlin the Merchants Daughter* (also known as *Maudlin the Merchant's Daughter of Bristol*) is specifically named. The increased call for music may mean that the play actually resides within the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels, a company which was known for the quality of its musical performance, and also the company from which several of the players of the Lady Elizabeth's Men came.

The comedy of the play revolves around hidden identities. The older character Valentine discovers that the young man, Francisco, to whom he feels some unexpected affection is actually his own long-lost son. Francisco fakes illness so that he can become close Cellide, his father's, young and pretty, fiancée. His feigned malady allows for bed scenes and much mocking of the medical profession.

The titular character of the play, Thomas, provides much of the physical comedy of the play; he is seen as a young blade who treats his intended badly. His action includes acrobatics and tumbling as he climbs up to a window and falls back to the stage. This suggests that playing must have taken place on a stage with a balcony for him to climb (3.3). It is Mary's retaliation to Thomas's activities that means a Moor is discovered in bed at the end of the play. Cross dressing, and disguise again play a part with Thomas disguising himself in his sister's clothes.

### 3.4 The Phoenix Repertory: *The Changeling*; *The Spanish Gypsy*; *The Noble Bondman*; *The Welsh Ambassador*; *The Sun's Darling*; *The Renegado*; *The Captives*; *The City Nightcap*; *The Parliament of Love*; *The School of Compliment*

In 1622 after a long period away from commercial playing in London the company returned to the city and were installed as the resident company at the Phoenix under the management of Christopher Beeston. The plays that the company performed in this playhouse were different in tone to those with which it had become associated when it was first playing in London just after its establishment.

#### *The Changeling*

Thomas Middleton's play *The Changeling* was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men on 7 May 1622 (ref 116). This would have been one of the first plays to be performed by the company at the Phoenix. A Middleton play was a good choice as he was a well-established and popular writer. It would have been important that the returning company was quickly able to attract a paying commercial audience.

The play calls for a cast of a minimum of 15 players of which 3 boys are required for the women's parts of Beatrice-Joanna, Diaphanta, and Isabella. This is the same pattern as demonstrated by *Wit Without Money* and *The Honest Man's Fortune*. The role of Beatrice-Joanna, rather like Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*, is central to the play. The boy player undertaking such a role would need to be very skilled. Any boy player that had previously been with the Children of the Queen's Revels would have been trained to take such roles. At this later stage of the company's development it would have taken over the training of its own boy players through apprenticeships.

The play moves between the murdering plot of Beatrice-Joanna's plan to have her betrothed killed, and the comedic plot of the asylum where Isabella is the subject of the competing attentions of Francisco and Antonio. The madhouse scenes call for comedy, such as is often displayed in the earlier plays of the repertory; there is a comedy double act between Francisco and Antonio. The bedtrick switch, which is often seen in the comedies, is used in this play within the tragic plot of Beatrice-Joanna as she swaps places with her maid, and ultimately ends with Diaphanta's murder.

Apart from the plotting that calls for two very different scenes, the madhouse and the household, there is little of unusual note for the staging of this play.

### *The Spanish Gypsy*

Within a couple of months of the staging of *the Changeling* another play by Thomas Middleton, and co-authored with William Rowley, was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The licence entry for *The Spanish Gypsy*, like that for *The Changeling*, firmly places the company at the Phoenix (ref 128). Interestingly the Office Book entry is silent on the name of the author as the important element of the licence for regulatory purposes was the company and the performance venue. A playbook published in 1653, long after the demise of the company failed to mention the playing company (ref 182); so long after the company had finished performing, and in a period when commercial playing had been prohibited by Parliament since 1642 the playing company had become unimportant as it would have had no meaning for those buying the texts. In November of the same year the play was performed at court for Prince Charles (ref 134).

One of the defining features of the play is the use of disguise. This is a common trope within the plays of the repertory of the company. Within this play Alviraz, Guimara, Constansia, Sanchea, and Soto, are all disguised as gypsies but the disguises are not all known to either all the other characters. As the play progresses it becomes apparent who is actually disguised and why. As gypsies there is much dancing and music within the drama of the play. Again this would not be considered unusual for the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and may even be part of the draw to see a performance for the audience.

Within the play there is a reference to *The Changeling* which given the closeness in the licensing dates of both plays is not surprising, but it does mean that *The Changeling* must have been the first of the two to be written.

Yes, father, I will play the changeling:  
I'll change myself into a thousand shapes  
To court our brave spectators; I'll change my postures  
Into a thousand different variations  
To draw even ladies' eyes to follow mine;  
(2.1.106-110)

### *The Noble Bondman*

Philip Massinger's play *The Noble Bondman* helps to demonstrate how the naming of the company became fluid towards the end of its commercial life. The play first appears in the regulatory records on 3 December 1623 as a play for the Queen of Bohemia's Men (ref 135). The Queen of Bohemia was the title taken by Elizabeth for a short while whilst her husband Frederick was the King of Bohemia. Three weeks later the play was performed at Whitehall for Prince Charles but the records of the Revels Office refer only to 'the Cockpitt company' (ref 136). This is an unusual, and untimely, reference to the first name of the playhouse. By March of the following year the play again appears in Herbert's Office Book when it is allowed for printing, but this time it is associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 143). The naming of the company is fluid and ambiguous, but given the temporal proximity to *The Changeling* and *The Spanish Gypsy* this seems to be a play that ought to belong within the repertory of the company known as the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

The staging requirements of the play are not unusual and do not provide any novelty but the play seems to be quite political in a manner not seen in other plays. The casting requirement, after taking doubling into account, calls for a total of 18 players, of whom five are boys to take on the female roles; these are exactly the same requirements as for *The Spanish Gypsy* which helps to strengthen the case for the play belonging to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This is the first single-handed play by Massinger that is seen within the repertory of the company. His previous play for the company was the collaboratively written play *The Honest Man's Fortune*. Costuming would be required to depict the differences between the nobles and the rebelling slaves, and to provide disguises for Pisander, the nobleman, to disguise himself as Murillo, the slave leader of the revolt.

### *The Welsh Ambassador*

*The Welsh Ambassador* is attributed to Thomas Dekker and is described as a play of disguises; this is the significant distinguishing features of the play. The first characters on stage, Edmund and Eldred, are disguised unbeknown to either the audience or to their brother the king. They are joined by the disguised Penda, again unknown to other characters or to the audience. These disguises are not revealed until the end of the play.



This is in contrast to many of the other plays within the repertory of the company where the disguise element is an integral part of the contract between the players and their audience.

The play is tentatively attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Alfred Harbage (1964, 116–17) but does not appear in the records of the Master of the Revels. It is the existence of a scribal manuscript of the play that helps link it to the company. Fredson Bowers identified the scribal hand of *The Welsh Ambassador* as the same as that of the scribe for Massinger's *Parliament of Love*, a play attributed to the Cockpit company in Herbert's Office Book (ref 162). The manuscript of *The Welsh Ambassador* has damage to its bottom edges, which is attributed to damp by Harold Littledale (Dekker 1920, vi), and the manuscript of *The Parliament of Love* is similarly damaged. Greg reinforced the connection between the two documents by asserting that the similar damage was caused when both documents' lay together in a damp receptacle (Dekker 1968, IV:282).

The casting requirement for the play is exactly the same as that for *The Changeling* with a total requirement of 15 players, of whom three need to be boys to take on the female roles. Again this suggests that it is the same company performing both of these plays.

#### *The Sun's Darling*

Thomas Dekker's play *The Sun's Darling* is an anomaly within the repertory. When it was authorised for playing it was described being 'in the Nature of a Masque' (ref 141) and is similarly described as 'a moral masque' on the title page of the first printed edition (ref 183). Masques were not generally performed in commercial playhouses but they were a frequent element of royal playing at court. *The Sun's Darling* has many of the elements of a masque; the characters are mostly allegorical, such as Youth, Delight, Health, along with personifications of the seasons of the year. Costuming for royal masques was often elaborate, and there is no reason to suppose that this would not be so for a masque-like performance by the Lady Elizabeth's Men whilst it was resident at the Phoenix.

Music plays a great part in the play, songs are sung in most scenes, and dances are also called for. Instruments are identified by type with cornets, hoboyes (oboes), and recorders all required.

The play is unusual in its requirement for players. Of all the plays identified as part of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men this play has the smallest requirement for players with only twelve needed in total, of which only two would need to be boys, after doubling has been taken into account. This is despite the large number of individual characters called for, but may be explained by the almost procession-like quality of the play which would give the players time to change costumes. Also, even though it would be possible to perform the play with this small number of players, it is likely that the company would take advantage of the number of players available to it, and actually not double all the roles that may be possible.

The character of the Sun is called to appear 'above' but this would be possible by using the balcony space available; this would not be an unusual use of this space. Whilst on the face of it this would seem to be an unusual play, it is not actually unusual within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

#### *The Renegado*

Philip Massinger's play *The Renegado* was licensed on 17 April 1624, just four months after *The Noble Bondman* was licensed, for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This suggests that the first play had been a commercial success for the company for Christopher Beeston to call upon the same writer again within a short period of time for another tragicomedy. Both plays incorporate a theme involving the depiction of Moors which was a popular topic for drama at the time. The casting requirement for both plays is very similar with a total call of 18 players, although the later play needs only three boys for the female roles; this would not be a problematic as older boys would be capable of playing young men's roles as well as those of women. The same number of players is also required for *The Spanish Gypsy* which was also played at the Cockpit.

There is nothing in the staging requirements of the play that appears unusual, or difficult to accomplish. By this stage in the commercial London theatre business playhouses were all well adapted to the requirements of companies, and conversely the playwrights were aware of the limitations of the playhouses and would have written accordingly.

### *The Captives*

Thomas Heywood's play *The Captives* was licensed in September 1624 for the Cockpit company (ref 155). This play would provide some difficulties for the Lady Elizabeth's Men from a casting perspective because of the number of players required.

### *The City Nightcap*

Robert Davenport's tragicomedy, *A City Nightcap*, was licensed on 14 October 1624 for the Cockpit Company (ref 160). The play is set in Italy, as are many of the Cockpit/Phoenix plays. The casting requirement of 14 players is not unusual for the company at this time, and is well within the capabilities of the company. A clown character, Pambo, is required, and within many of the Cockpit/Phoenix repertory clown figures were important, often being central to the plays of the repertory.

Disguise plays an important part of the plot of the play, with Antonio and his slave switching places with one another, and Lodovcio taking the part of a priest in order to fool his wife. Such use of disguise became frequent within the later part of the repertory and suggests that the provisioning of costuming was no longer an issue for the company, as characters would need additional clothing in order to carry off the necessary changes of character.

### *The Parliament of Love*

Philip Massinger's play *The Parliament of Love* was licensed to the Cockpit company on 3 November 1624 (ref 162). It is a comedy, performed about the same time as *The Welsh Ambassador*, and like the *Welsh Ambassador* does not appear to have been printed. Like many of the other later plays performed at the Cockpit/Phoenix it is not located in England. Part of the plot, Leonora asking her lover Cleremond to kill his friend Montrose, is similar to that of *The Dutch Courtesan* where Franchesina demands the killing of Freevill by his friend Malheureux. As with many of the other plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men a comedic double act is at the centre of *The Parliament of Love*, where Prigiot and Novelli appear in scenes of hapless wooing.

A Moorish character is also introduced, again following the fashion of the time, although in this case a female character, Beaupre, who disguises herself as a Moorish serving girl, in order to trick her husband, Clarindore by means of a bed-trick.

### *The School of Compliment*

James Shirley's play *The School of Compliment* was one of the last plays to be licensed for playing at the Cockpit/Phoenix during the time when the Lady Elizabeth's Men were resident (ref 139). It calls for a cast of 15, of which four boy players are required to play female roles. It contains many of the elements that other plays demonstrate. A central clown character is present, and the school scene at 3.1 makes the most of the comic talents of at least three players; Jenkin the Welshman, Jocarello, and Gorgon. The play also makes disguise central to the comedy of the plot with Antonio dressing as his sister Selina, who has run away and is disguised herself as a shepherd. Music also plays a large part of the play with several songs set. In many ways this play is reminiscent of the earlier plays of the company.

### **3.5 Coda**

Having established the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, though the use of objective and independent empirical evidence, in the previous chapter, this chapter examines more closely the individual plays that form the repertory. In particular it has been possible to estimate the minimum size of the company at 12 adult players through the preparation of doubling charts (see Appendix 2).

Where more players are required consideration has been given to the possibility of a merger between the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Prince's Men. It is possible that the play *Amends for Ladies*, a play which has been associated with both companies, could have been performed solely by the Lady Elizabeth's Men but the possibility exists that the companies were actually sharing scarce resource at the time. Payment evidence during 1614 suggests that court payments were received by members of either company; rather than being a formal merger the arrangement was transitional, with both companies going on to re-establish their individual identities.

The individual plays also tell us something about staging requirements of the repertory. As the company grew there was an evolution of its working practices. As seen in Chapter 2 a distinction is made between the repertory of the early company and the company when it returned to London in 1622, after a period playing mostly in regional towns and cities. Many of the original plays of the repertory were inherited

either from the Children of the Queen's Revels or the Queen Anne's Players. These plays cannot reflect features of the repertory unique to the Lady Elizabeth's Men as they were initially produced for other companies. They are however indicative of a preferred genre, suggesting that the players of the company were happy to play comedies; this is where the focus of these plays lies.

The experience of the early commissioned plays is more enlightening. Again there is a preponderance of comedy plays with plays such as *The Night Walkers* and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. Many of these commissioned plays display a farcical element, exhibiting individual elements of the subgenre such as disguised characters, improbable misunderstandings, and physical comedy. The grouping of these elements may arise because of the collaborative manner in which many of these plays were written when commissioned by Philip Henslowe.

One of the defining features of the early commissioned plays is a geographic focus on London; only *Monsieur Thomas* and *The Honest Man's Fortune* are set outside of the city. Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* is perhaps the best known today of what are often called city plays that focus their attention on London. A company with a fragile base in London appears to be appealing to their city audience through their repertory.

These plays form a sharp contrast to the post 1622 plays performed at the Cockpit/Phoenix. Whilst there are still comedies in this part of the repertory half of the plays are either tragedy or tragicomedy, genres not much seen in the earlier repertory. Another point of difference between the two distinct parts of the repertory is seen in the location of the later plays which are not set in London. These later plays were brought into the company's repertory by Christopher Beeston rather than Philip Henslowe and reflect a change in focus for the company. Whilst it may be said that the change in focus results from the change in financier it perhaps reflects the company's own experience of what was popular with audiences.

Overall the 25 extant plays of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men cover all genres. A total of 19 different playwrights had a hand in the writing of the plays which were written for different playhouses throughout the company's lifespan. Because of the

differing factors within the overall existence of the company it is only possible to see an evolution of style as defined by genre.

## Chapter 4: The People behind the Lady Elizabeth's Men

One of the most important elements of the Lady Elizabeth's Men were the people that were part of the company and/or played a role in enabling the company in its dramatic and business endeavours. In many ways the company can be considered as a separate legal entity of its own devising but all of the extant legal documents relating to the company require the signatures of individuals in their personal capacity, rather than of those individuals acting on behalf of the company. In this way the individuals associated with the company can be considered to be assets or commodities linked with the playing company.

The people associated with the company can be divided into those who are internal to the company because they are an intrinsic part of it and its activities, and those external to it. The internal group are effectively those that provide the audience with the output of the company; they work within the company to provide this. The other group consists of people connected to the company but external to it; they are necessary because they enable the activities of the company, but are not themselves an intrinsic element of the company. The external elements may change without affecting the intrinsic characteristic of the company.

Those internal to the company are the players themselves and the sharers of the company (ie the owners); those external to the company are the financiers, the writers, and the patrons.

### **4.1 The Players**

The early players of the company are those listed on the various legal papers that document the formation of the company and its early financing. The first of these is the patent document of 1611 (ref 003) which names only John Townsend and Joseph Moore with all other players relegated into the term 'the rest of their company.' Townsend and Moore can be viewed as the company's originators.

Shortly after this document had been drawn up an agreement was entered into between Philip Henslowe and a company, which whilst not specifically named, included

both Townsend and Moore, along with ten other players, namely William Barkstead/Baxter, Thomas Bass, William Carpenter, Giles Cary/Gary, William Ecclestone, Alexander Foster, Robert Hamlen, Thomas Hunt, John Rice, and Joseph Taylor (ref 004). These players are regarded as the original members of the company.

A third legal document naming players is the 1615 Grievance document (ref 068) which details complaints that the players held against Philip Henslowe. The individual players named in this document are the previously mentioned William Baxter, William Ecclestone, and Joseph Taylor, together with Robert Dawes and Robert Pallant.

#### 4.1.1 John Townsend and Joseph Moore

John Townsend and Joseph Moore can be considered to be the founders of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. They were significant enough within the company's formation to be the signatories to the patent that granted the company its permissions to operate, despite the fact that there is no documentary evidence of their participation in the theatre business before this date (ref 003). The two men appear to have operated for much of the time as a management and playing partnership for the Lady Elizabeth's Men; perhaps it was these two men who pulled together the other members of the original formation of the company but there is no evidence that this is the case. Both men are signatories to the agreement that secured the company a total of £500 financing from Philip Henslowe just a matter of months after the patent document was issued (ref 004).

Townsend and Moore seem to have been highly regarded by those regulating the playing companies. By 1617 Joseph Moore had been given the job of ensuring that touring companies did not act in provincial towns without proper licences. He was armed with a letter from Sir William Herbert, the Lord Chamberlain, accusing some companies of travelling under false patents and was given the power to command such companies to desist from playing (ref 082).

The continued influence over the company of Townsend and Moore was particularly noted when the company engaged in touring outside of London. The pair were the recipients of court money when the company played for King James in 1617 during his progress to Scotland, and are often mentioned in specific regional payment records when the company played in various towns.



At some point Townsend and Moore appear to have separated from each other in their day-to-day dealings with the company. In early 1617 Townsend delivered a patent dated 20 March 1617 to the authorities in Norwich naming both players, amongst others, but by 22 April 1620 when trying to obtain permission to play at Norwich he was questioned as to why Joseph Moore was not with the company to which the answer was that Moore had 'not played with them this last year, & that the said Moore now kept an Inn in Chichester' (ref 103). This is seemingly at odds with the Norwich record of 8 February 1620 which shows Moore presenting documents to allow for playing (ref 102) suggesting that perhaps the company had divided into two, one part under the leadership of Townsend, and the other under the leadership of Moore.

By 1624 Townsend was touring the provinces under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men with Alexander Foster, another of the early players associated with the company (ref 140). Later in 1624 Townsend and Moore, together with Alexander Foster, were called upon to represent Francis Wambus and William Bee (possibly William Beeston) who had been jailed in Norwich under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men for playing without permission. Townsend, Foster, and Moore had been called as they were named on the patent that had been presented to the town's authorities but only Townsend turned up in Norwich to plead for Wambus's release, confirming perhaps that by this point he and Moore no longer acted together.

A record from Norwich places the two players together again in 1629 (ref 168) but the record is indistinct; it appears to show that they are included on the same licence but they are described as 'servants to the king' not as Lady Elizabeth's Men, and Elias Guest appears to be the leader of the company.

By 28 November 1634 John Townsend is included in a licence granted to a company known as The King's Revels under the leadership of William Daniel. None of the players named alongside Townsend in this document has any links to the Lady Elizabeth's Men indicating that Townsend had ceased to have any involvement with the company, or those that had been previously linked with it. This is the last record detailing Townsend's activities but Moore is seen again taking a leading role in dealing with civic authorities on the company's behalf as late as 1630 when he presented an old patent dated 15 December 1616.

#### 4.1.2 William Barksted/Baxter

William Barksted/Baxter first appears in the records of playing companies as a player with the Children of her Majesty's Revels. It is not unusual for members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men to have first performed with a company of boy players.

Barksted/Baxter was known as a comedic player; this would have been a great asset to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as many of their plays called for players skilled in comedy roles. Lucy Munro notes that he appears in many of the jest books of the period (Munro 2005, 179) and he is listed as amongst the 'principall Comoedians' for *Epicene* in the 1616 folio edition of Ben Jonson's work which places the play with the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1609 when it was first acted. John Taylor, the water poet, later called Barksted/Baxter 'a late well knowne fine Comedian' in his 1638 *Taylors Feast* (Nungezer 1929, 29). Whilst this is much later than the period during which he was part of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, it seems obvious that the comedic talent he honed as a young man stayed with him throughout his career.

William Barkstead/Baxter's involvement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men becomes apparent in August 1611, just four months after the company had been set up. Barkstead, along with 11 other members of the company, signed a bond with Philip Henslowe to provide the company with funding of £500 (ref 004). The Lady Elizabeth's Men, as a brand new commercial playing company, would have been in need of working capital for the acquisition of plays, costumes, and properties, as well as the provision of playing spaces; without these elements the company would not be able to perform, so borrowing £500 from Philip Henslowe would have been a means to acquire these necessary items.

#### 4.1.3 Joseph Taylor

The first evidence of Joseph Taylor's acting career comes from 1610 when he was an original member of the Duke of York's Men at the age of 24. There is no evidence to suggest that he had been a member of any of the children's companies before this but he is unlikely to have become a patentee of a playing company without any previous stage experience. He joined the Lady Elizabeth's Men upon its formation having been 'given licence and leave of his said master the Duke upon some special reason' (Chambers 1923, 2.243).

It is possible to see that Taylor took a lead role in the management of the Lady Elizabeth's Men by virtue of his being signatory to the financial bond entered into with Philip Henslowe in 1611 (ref 004) but his financial management of the company may have been called into question in 1615 when he was cited in the document laying grievances against Henslowe (ref 068). It was alleged in this document that, following the joining together of Philip Rosseter's company with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, Henslowe amalgamated a loan of £30 due from Taylor into the general debts of the company, leaving the company liable for this sum. Whether or not this was at the behest of Taylor, it must have made for a tricky relationship with his fellow players and calls into question Andrew Gurr's description of him as a 'sturdy team player and leader' (2004b). Up until this point there was no indication that any of his fellow players doubted his financial veracity or competence. He acted as collector of fees for playing at court on three separate occasions during 1613 and 1614 (refs 019; 054, 058) and following the event of the grievance he joined with members of the company in March 1616 to sign legal documents with Edward Alleyn and Jacob Meade for them to provide playing houses in much the same way that Henslowe had done for the company previously (ref 076). This agreement is followed by a letter to Edward Alleyn apologising for leaving the playhouse on Bankside that had been provided to the company and blaming the 'intemperate Mr Meade' (ref 077); again Joseph Taylor was a joint signatory to this.

Taylor left the company to join the King's Men following the death of Burbage in March 1619 and took over many of his acting roles. This suggests that Taylor was a skilled actor capable of taking on the lead roles that Burbage had developed.

#### 4.1.4 Alexander Foster

Little seems to be known about the career of Alexander Foster but his role within the Lady Elizabeth's Men may be traced through the extant records of the company. He appears to have been one of the original members of the company as he is listed in the financial agreement made with Henslowe shortly after the company's formation (ref 004). He also appears to have been a trusted senior member of the company as he was responsible for the collection of fees for court payments; he collected on behalf of the company for performances on 19 January, 26 February, and 19 March 1612 (refs 007;

008). These were the first recorded performances of the company at court. He also collected court payment in April 1616 but apparently for the Prince's Men rather than for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. This was at a time when the two companies appear to have amalgamated temporarily (ref 078), although Andrew Gurr suggests that 'one of the Princes hignes Players' is a reference to the princess, and therefore to the Lady Elizabeth (1996, 401). There is no further evidence to suggest that Foster had become a member of the Prince's Men and his name is missing from the agreement with Jacob Meade on 20 March 1616 (ref 076) bringing into doubt Foster's continuing involvement with either company. It is possible however to see that Foster remained connected with the company through its touring activities. He was a named member of the company on a licence dated 30 March 2017 that was presented several times during the company's annual touring activity between 1618 and 1621 (refs 094; 099; 102; 111). The recorder at Norwich diligently noted down details of players' licences so much of the information that is available comes from this city, but there is no reason to suppose that performances were limited only to Norwich. The same licence, naming Foster alongside John Townsend, Joseph Moore, and Francis Wambus, was presented annually at Norwich between 1618 and 1621; despite the naming of Foster it is not proof that he was actually present in the city but it is proof that he was considered to be an important part of the company and of its organisation. A later licence, dated 20 March 1621 and naming Foster, John Townsend, Joseph Moor and Francis Wambus was presented in April 1624 in Norwich. It was this performance that gave rise to an encounter with the Norwich authorities that ended with Francis Wambus being jailed and Townsend being sent to recover him (ref 150). In none of the proceedings that emanated from this altercation is Alexander Foster mentioned other than as a licensee, which suggests that he may not have been present in the city.

Just before the Norwich incident evidence of a continuing relationship between the company and Alexander Foster is found in the records of the Revels Office (ref 140). He and John Townsend were granted a licence for the duration of a year which demonstrates not only the continuing importance of both men to the company but the necessity of maintaining a touring practice. At the same time that this licence was granted the Cockpit Company, which was the Lady Elizabeth's Men, was granted permission to play *The Sun's Darling* (ref 141). This strengthens arguments that the

company had two different playing arms, one in London and the other touring in the provinces.

#### 4.1.5 Nathan Field

Nathan Field was not only the pre-eminent player of the early Lady Elizabeth's Men but was also heavily involved in the management of the company. He had been a boy player with the Children of the Chapel Royal at Blackfriars and by the time he became associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613 at the age of 26 he was already a well-known and talented actor. Field's involvement with the company started when the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Queen's Revels company were brought together by Philip Rosseter; this was the merger that was later to become the cause of grievances against Philip Henslowe by the players (ref 068).

As Field was not part of the company when it was initially set up he was not mentioned on the original patent, nor did he sign the financial bond with Philip Henslowe in August 1611 (ref 004) but upon joining the company he became a sharer and became involved with its running; this is possibly a mark of his maturity and his stage ability, plus the esteem in which he was held within the company. Like Joseph Taylor and Alexander Foster he became responsible for the collection of fees for court playing (ref 066) but he seems to have had more influence within the company too. Field's play *Amends for Ladies* dates to the period of the move and its title page shows not only Field as the author but the company as the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 089). As a writer for the company, as well as a player, Field was in a position to bridge the gap between the players and Philip Henslowe. One of the first documents to establish a link between them was the management agreement that was signed in 1613 just as Field joined the company following the merger with the Revels company (ref 015). In this document Henslowe with his business partner Jacob Meade agreed that for a three year period they would provide the company with a playing house as well as costuming for new plays which they also undertook to pay for. In further letters between Field and Henslowe it is possible to see how Field managed the relationship between the two of them. In one letter, also signed by Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger, he asked for monies already due so that they might be bailed from prison. He makes the point that if he were to remain in custody he would be unable to play, which would ultimately cost

Henslowe £20, as well as delaying the next new play that the men were writing (ref 016).

The series of letters also confirm Field's position within the company as a sharer of profits. In a follow-up letter where he addresses Henslowe as 'father' and signs off 'your loving son' he writes that he 'will never share a penny' until he has repaid his debt to Henslowe (ref 017). Field's loyalty to the company is demonstrated in a letter that can probably be dated to 1614 (ref 035). He urges Henslowe to pay £10 in part payment so that he and Daborne may finish the play and keep it for the company. At the same time Field puts forward the suggestion that his writing partner may have offered the play to another company thereby implying that if Henslowe does not advance the money for the play the opportunity it presents will be lost to the company.

Unlike many of the earlier players there is no evidence to suggest that Nathan Field ever took part in any touring activities with the company. He is not mentioned in any licences nor any regional payment records on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and appears to be completely London-based during his time with the company.

#### 4.1.6 Francis Wambus

Francis Wambus was not an early member of the Lady Elizabeth's Men; his signature does not appear on the 1611 bond with Henslowe (ref 004), nor the later financing/management agreement. He makes his first documented entry into the company in 1621. This is after the company had found itself frozen out of the London theatre industry as it did not have use of a viable playhouse after 1616. Wambus's connection with the company is seen in the payment records of various towns in which it played; he was an important member of the company as he was often the player who presented a travelling licence on its behalf. The first extant licence which names him is dated 20 March 1617 and records Alexander Foster, John Townsend, and Joseph Moore as well as Wambus (ref 094). The transcript of the licence made by the officials in Norwich, where it was presented, specifically states that there shall be 'but one Company as Servants to the Lady Elizabeth' (ref 094). There had been a problem with duplicate companies attempting to play in towns under the authority of a licence copy; this licence confirms this as such a stipulation would be made only if there had been a reason to do so.

There was no problem with playing in Norwich at this time but in later visits the company, including Wambus, were often disallowed from playing. In 1624 Wambus became the focus of the disapprobation of the Norwich authorities (ref 149). Wambus had presented a patent dated 20 March 1621 which allowed playing, but the city authorities had received an earlier dated letter from the Privy Council giving them permission to disallow playing. Wambus took exception to this and determined that the company would play as it had direct permission from the king. The company placed playbills advertising the performance of a new comedy *The Spanish Contract*, which was to be played in the White Horse Inn near Norwich. It is not known if the performance went ahead but Wambus was arrested after he ‘taxed Mr Mayor very falsely and scandalously with untruths’ and was imprisoned until he could find someone to stand bail for him. The rest of the company, with the exception of William Bee, had disappeared so Wambus remained in jail in Norwich. In June he was able to produce a letter from Henry Herbert ordering his release (ref 153) but he was still in the custody of the Norwich authorities in September when Townsend appeared on his behalf in court. On 18 September the jailer agreed to release both Wambus and Bee, who had been incarcerated alongside Wambus. This was not quite the end of the matter; just a few days later Wambus and Townsend visited Norwich court to complain about the treatment of Wambus and Bee and to demand compensation. The court’s decision was that ‘their imprisonment was occasioned by their own miscarriage’ and that ‘nothing shall be given unto them in that respect’ (ref 157). This seems to have been the end of Wambus’s connection with the company. He does not appear again in the documentary record. The incident also signals a reduced level of the incidents of performing within the regions for the company; by 1622 the company was resident at the Cockpit/Phoenix under Christopher Beeston.

4.1.7 Others: Robert Hamlen; Thomas Hunt; John Rice, William Carpenter; William Eccleston; Giles Carey/Gary; Thomas Bass

The documentary evidence linking some of the players to the Lady Elizabeth’s Men is minimal. For some players the only evidence of their involvement is the Henslowe bond of 1611 (ref 004), although they can often be traced to other companies either before or after the formation of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men.

Thomas Hunt was with the Admiral's Men before 1603, so was probably a mature player by the time he became involved with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, even if he had only been a boy whilst with the Admiral's Men. John Rice had performed with the King's Men, both before and after the signing of the Henslowe bond; he was described as Heminges's boy in 1607 (Nungezer 1929, 296–97) so by 1611 would probably have been a young adult player. Whilst both were signatories to the Henslowe bond there is no further documentary evidence of their involvement with the company, but this does go some way to confirming the position that the Lady Elizabeth's Men was a company to which former boy players often graduated.

It is not known which company William Carpenter was with before he is seen as a signatory to the Henslowe bond, but by 1619 he was with the Prince's Men taking a speaking role in *The Inner Temple Mask* (Gurr 1996, 403) and Middleton's *Masque of the Heroes*. He appears to have stayed with this company at least until 1625 when he took part with it in the funeral procession for the king (Nungezer 1929, 85).

William Eccleston and Thomas Bass are both recorded in the 1679 collection of plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies*, as having taken part in *The Honest Man's Fortune* alongside other players of the Lady Elizabeth's Men including Nathan Field, Emanuel Read, and Joseph Taylor; this places them amongst a group of players known to be part of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Eccleston was a signatory to the Henslowe Grievance in 1615 but by 1619 he had moved to the King's Men where he joined Nathan Field, his fellow ex-member of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Giles Cary transferred to the Lady Elizabeth's Men from the Children of the Queen's Revels where he had been a contemporary of Nathan Field acting together in *The Key Keeper* (Munro 2005, 24). Cary was probably an apprenticed boy player at this point in time as the records of Robert Cecil refer to him as the 'boye' of William Ostler (Munro 2005, 39). Again we see a player moving away from a company made up predominantly of boy players to the newly-formed Lady Elizabeth's Men.

The relationship of Thomas Bass with the Lady Elizabeth's Men is first evidenced by the Henslowe bond of 1611 (ref 004). His subsequent career with the company is shown in the Beaumont and Fletcher collection, *Comedies and Tragedies* where he is listed alongside other known members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men as part of the



company that played *The Honest Man's Fortune*. He ended his career with the Queen Anne's Men.

## 4.2 The Financiers

The Lady Elizabeth's Men was reliant upon people external to the company to provide finance for its activities right from its moment of inception. The royal patent that set up the company as a legal entity is silent on the matter of the source of its initial capital funding, but there is an implicit expectation within the document that the company will be in a position to finance its own activities (ref 003).

### 4.2.1 Philip Henslowe

By the time of his first recorded involvement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1611 Philip Henslowe was already a wealthy man with vast business interests in the London theatre industry. He initially made his money from a combination of pawnbroking, and property investment as well as through his original trade as a dyer (Cerasano 2004b, n. pag). His activities within the theatre industry were wide and varied and included investments in individual playhouses, loaning money to players, and actually running playing companies, as well as money lending to individual players.

His property interests in playhouses began when he acquired the Rose in 1587, he went on to build the Fortune with his son-in-law Edward Alleyn as his business partner in 1600. By 1614 he had built and opened the Hope as a joint playhouse and animal-baiting pit.

Henslowe's interest in the Lady Elizabeth's Men covered all the different areas of his business; he provided the company with funds to acquire playbooks and costumes, he was able to provide it with a playhouse in which to perform, and he was involved in the day-to-day running of many aspects of the company. His relationship with the company was to be a short one but was important as it enabled its commercial playing venture in London.

The original players of the company signed a bond with Henslowe, on 29 August 1611 (ref 004), shortly after its formation, on terms that he would provide the company with the necessary finance required to undertake its commercial activities. Interestingly

the document is written so that each of the named players becomes jointly and severally liable for any money owing:

[...] eache and every of them doe for their and every of their ptes well and trulie hould observe paie pfourme fulfill & kepe All and every the Covenntes grauntes articles paymentes and agreement  
(ref 004)

This means that each player is not only responsible for his own debts, but also for the debt of any of the other signatories to the document; this is still the basis of modern partnerships today. In terms of what this meant for the signatories of the bond if any one individual were to default on payments Henslowe would have recourse to reclaim his money from any of the other signatories.

Further evidence of the provision of capital by Henslowe comes in the document that he signed with Nathan Field in 1613 (ref 015). Henslowe by this point had joined with Jacob Meade, and together they offered Nathan Field and his company a three year contract during which time they would provide funds to allow for ‘a sufficient howse or howses for the saide Company to play in’ and ‘playinge apparrell towards the setting of out of their new playes’.

Importantly Henslowe and Meade also agreed to lay out sums of money to pay for plays for the company. The agreement was written such that four or five of the sharers of the company had to agree the amount to be paid for each play, thus giving them some degree of artistic licence and control over the company’s repertory. Later letters between Robert Daborne and Henslowe refer to the playwright sending a play to be read by the company in order for it to approve the new drama.

Henslowe also undertook to provide a playing house for the company. He provided it with the Hope playhouse which was financed by Henslowe with Jacob Meade as his partner, and constructed by Gilbert Katherens (the playhouse is discussed in more detail at 5.1.2). The agreement for building the Hope was signed on 29 August 1613 but we do not know exactly when the company moved into it. The agreement signed between Henslowe, Meade, and Field has been dated at 1613 by W.W Greg (Henslowe 1907, 19 n) and it could be conjectured that the playhouse was commissioned with the Lady Elizabeth’s Men in mind, but with the unusual feature of a

dismantable staging area, it seems as if that Henslowe had always conceived of the playhouse having a dual use.

In 1615 the company raised a grievance against Henslowe in relation to this agreement and his perceived breaches of it (ref 068). The main thrust of the company's argument was over various financial activities such as adding personal loans to the amount owed by the company, overvaluation of stocks of costumes, and a fundamental disagreement over the amount of time allowed for bear-baiting.

The company's relationship with Henslowe seems to have ended with the grievance; Henslowe's death in 1616 meant that his business interests moved to his son-in-law Edward Alleyn.

One of Henslowe's main business activities was to act as a moneylender and it was through this activity that he built relationships with some of the playwrights that were commissioned to provide material for the company. The letters between these debtors and Henslowe give an insight into the workings of the company. Of significance in this respect is the joint letter from Nathan Field, Philip Massinger, and Robert Daborne (ref 016). The letter originates from Field, who requested bail money for the release of the three writers who were held in prison at the time. The letter indicates that their circumstances are the cause of the potential loss of £20 plus the 'hinderance of the next new play'. It is also indicative of a collaborative writing process between the three men.

#### 4.2.2 Philip Rosseter

The relationship between Philip Rosseter and the Lady Elizabeth's Men is associated with the period when the company had temporarily, and informally, merged with the Prince's Men.

Rosseter was a musician by training, and had become a sharer and manager of the Children of the Queen's Revels when it was based at Whitefriars (Harwood 2008, n. pag). He was still with this company at the time of the marriage of Lady Elizabeth Stuart to Frederick, Elector Palatine, in 1613 and he later became associated with the Prince's Men. There are many connections and parallels between the Prince's Men and the Lady Elizabeth's; the companies were set up within a few years of each other and gave patronage to the king's two younger children but both companies struggled to

establish a firm foothold within the London playing industry through a lack of fixed playing venues. Rosseter, together with Alleyn, attempted to open an indoor playhouse on the site of Porter's Hall in 1615/16. This was at the time when there is some evidence to suggest that the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Prince's Men had come together as they both encountered problems finding a permanent London base. An indoor playhouse, similar to that found at Blackfriars would have been a valuable contribution to the stock of commercial London playing houses, of which there were too few. The playhouse opened only for a short while before it was closed down by the disapproving authorities, and the relationship between the Lady Elizabeth's Men, the Prince's Men, and Philip Rosseter ended.

#### 4.2.3 Christopher Beeston

Christopher Beeston was a player before he became a playhouse entrepreneur; he was firstly associated with the Admiral's Men, where he probably served as an apprentice to Augustine Philips, before becoming a member of Worcester's Men, who subsequently devolved into the Queen Anne's Men (Gurr 2004a, n. pag). However it was as a playhouse owner that Beeston is of interest to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. He took over as general manager of the Queen's Men in 1612 where some of his business practices led to accusations of false accounting and complaints that he had 'much enriched himself' at the expense of others (Nungezer 1929, 37). By 1617 he had accumulated enough capital to buy the freehold of the Cockpit in Drury Lane which he established as an indoor playhouse, and ran as well as the Red Bull which he also owned. He used his experiences as a manager of playing companies to host a succession of companies at the newly-established playhouse. The Lady Elizabeth's Men returned to commercial playing in London in 1622, after a period in which it had mainly toured provincial towns, and took up residency at the Cockpit/Phoenix, under the leadership of Beeston until 1625, when it was replaced at the playhouse with Queen Henrietta's Men. Beeston's association with the Lady Elizabeth's Men is evidenced within the court payment records in 1624 where he is described as 'one of the Lady Elizabeth's players' (ref 147). He is also named in the records of Sir Henry Herbert as being among the 'chief of them at the Phoenix' in 1622 indicating that he continued as a player as well as a procurer of playhouses and theatrical entrepreneur (ref 114).

#### 4.2.4 Jacob Meade

Jacob Meade's importance to the company is through his role as a business partner to Philip Henslowe. Meade was the partner that Henslowe took to buy the bear-baiting licence which was important for the construction of the Hope. Meade was integral to many of Henslowe's dealings with the company. It is not surprising that Henslowe took on business partners as his business dealings were wide and various, and he was towards the end of his life at this point, so may well have been suffering from ill health. Meade makes his first appearance in the documentary history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613, shortly after their formation, when he signs a joint agreement between him and Philip Henslowe with Nathan Field on behalf of the company to provide the necessary elements to allow the company to perform (see Henslowe above and ref 015). Meade appears to be as much of an active partner in this business agreement as Henslowe. This was the document that eventually led to a grievance being raised against Henslowe which also implicated Meade in the overvaluation of stage costumes (ref 068). Meade also seems to have been involved in some of the day-to-day decision making of the company. This is demonstrated in the contract drawn up with the player Robert Dawes in April 1614 (ref 062). The document is very detailed (although it does fail to mention the Lady Elizabeth's Men) and sets out in a prescriptive manner exactly the conditions under which Dawes was to take part in the company for a bound period of three years; he was to attend all rehearsals, with a sliding scale of penalties that were incurred if he were late or missed a rehearsal; he was to be ready to play by 3 o'clock, and again was subject to penalties if he failed, without good reason, to be available; and he had to promise that he would not leave the playhouse after a performance whilst wearing the apparel in which he played. In return for his services Dawes was granted a share of house takings. The agreement obviously relates to proceedings at the Hope as provision was made to allow for bear-baiting on Mondays in any week 'on which day it shall be lawfull.' The prescriptive nature of the agreement was probably the same for all players associated with the company but such agreements were often the cause of disputes. The legal agreement addressed to Edward Alleyn in 1616 (ref 077), presumably after the grievance had been lodged, laid the blame for the company leaving the playhouse on Bankside with the 'more intemperate Mr Meade.' Alleyn's role with the company, as a provider of funds, seems not to have materialised in any permanent

form. In the letter complaining about Meade, the players lay out their need for forty pounds until such point in time as they were able to receive money owing to them from court performances. We do not know if this sum, which was allegedly less than half of the court sums due, was paid by Alleyn, but what this letter demonstrates is the precarious nature of a playing company's finances if it were to fall into disagreement with their financier.

### 4.3 The Writers

The company was reliant upon a number of different writers to provide it with plays for performance; unlike the King's Men, with the exception of Nathan Field, it did not have sharers who were also writers. As Field left the company for the King's Men some time in 1616 it became reliant upon obtaining play scripts from a variety of sources. During its early years the company managed to acquire some plays from other companies such as the Children of the Queen's Revels, and Philip Henslowe entered into an agreement with it to provide funding for new plays. During the period when the company had no presence in London it is difficult, if not impossible, to say who it used to provide its plays. Because of the difficulties that it encountered in Norwich we know that new plays were still being provided for the company because play bills were distributed that announced a new play by the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 150), but without definitive evidence it is not possible to say who provided the finances for such plays, or who even wrote them. The pool of writers that the company drew upon was wide and diverse, and goes some way to explain the variety of plays that the company undertook.

The company performed the dramatic works of at least 15 different writers. Some of these writers had no direct relationship with the company. Writers such as John Cooke, responsible for the play commonly known by the name *Greene's Tu Quoque*, appear to have had no association with the company other than their work being transferred to it. Others had an ongoing engagement with the company.

#### 4.3.1 Robert Daborne

Robert Daborne was a playwright who, under instructions from Philip Henslowe, was often contracted to provide plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. He was the Cambridge-

educated son of a property-owning haberdasher but the family wealth did not seem to inoculate Daborne from his own money worries. Susan Cerasano suggests that Daborne was possibly the source of financial embarrassment to his family, which resulted in him being excluded from his father's will (2004a, n. pag). He was initially involved with the Children of the Queen's Revels when on 4 January 1610 he was recorded as a patentee, along with Philip Rosseter, who like Daborne would himself be later associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Whilst a shareholder with the Children of the Queen's Revels, Daborne furnished the company with several plays. His association with the Lady Elizabeth's Men does not appear to have extended to being a sharer but primarily as a writer.

Daborne's writing relationship with the company is documented through a series of letters to Philip Henslowe. The letters are mostly regarding requests to receive money up front for plays that he was in the process of writing, and explaining why he had not completed plays that had been expected. The correspondence between the two men provides much evidence about how the company operated. Most of the letters were written in 1613 during the period that Henslowe had undertaken to finance the writing of plays for the company and then to recoup his outgoings through performance receipts. The Daborne letters demonstrate this activity but also give an insight into other practices of the company.

Joint enterprise for playwriting was common and this is demonstrated in several letters by Daborne. A letter from Nathan Field, with Daborne and Philip Massinger as co-signatories, probably relates to the play *Eastward Ho* (ref 016). The play is mentioned by name in a later letter by Daborne where he writes 'make up my money even with Mr Massinger' insisting that he ought to be paid at least as much as Massinger for his work; this suggests that there is a hierarchy of writers, or more likely a division of payment that reflected the varying amounts written by each man (ref 018).

#### 4.3.2 John Fletcher

Fletcher provided the company with at least five plays; *The Night Walkers*, *The Honest Mans's Fortune*, *Wit without Money*, *Monsieur Thomas*, and *Cupid's Revenge*. The dating of these plays and their attribution to the Lady Elizabeth's Men is problematic as much of the evidence is dated long after the plays were performed. Fletcher first appears

in the documentary evidence of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in the postscript to a letter from Nathan Field to Philip Henslowe in 1613 which allows a connection to the company to be established (ref 016). The main aim of the letter from Field, and his co-letter writers Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger, was to ask Henslowe to provide funds to release them from gaol. In the postscript to the letter Daborne adds a note to say that 'the money shall be abated out of the money remains for the play of Mr Fletcher & ours.' Grace Ioppolo contends that the play being referred to must be *The Honest Man's Fortune* (Foakes and Ioppolo 2005). The play is multi-authored with the collaborative partners being Field, Massinger, and, because of the letter probably Daborne. Additional evidence linking the play to the Lady Elizabeth's Men comes in the form of an entry in the Office Book of Henry Herbert. This 1625 entry is much later than the Field letter but refers to the play as 'an old one'; the manuscript of the play also contains the licence referred to in the Office Book, and describes the play as 'an old one' (refs 172; 173). It is feasible that this play was in the early repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as it comes from the period when Fletcher was writing with Field, Massinger, and Daborne. Additionally, a cast list printed in the 1679 Fletcher and Beaumont folio lists not only Nathan Field, but also Joseph Taylor, and William Eccleston, who were signatories to the agreement with Philip Henslowe (ref 004), and Robert Benfield who was later attached to the company. Fletcher's play *The Night Walkers* seems also to be attributed to this period.

Of the other plays, Alfred Harbage tentatively attributes *Monsieur Thomas* to the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1615; such a dating would put it within the scope of the company at that time, although the much later 1639 printing of the play refers only to the play's performance at Blackfriars which would place it with the King's Men (ref 179); this suggests the same transmission route for this play as for *The Honest Man's Fortune*. Of the five possible plays written for the company *Cupid's Revenge* stands out as the only non-comedic play. It was an earlier-written play and originates within the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels, the company with whom Fletcher started his writing career, and the company with whom several of the Lady Elizabeth's Men started their acting careers.



#### 4.3.3 Philip Massinger

Philip Massinger was an Oxford-educated playwright with strong Welsh connections. His work for the Lady Elizabeth's Men spans a large part of the company's existence but also marks Massinger's emergence in the London playhouse community. The first record of his engagement with the company is also the first extant record of him partaking in the playhouse industry (Garrett n.d., n. pag). The letter to Philip Henslowe jointly written with Nathan Field and Robert Daborne in 1613 is a plea from the three writers for funds to release themselves from gaol (ref 016). This letter also alludes to collaborative writing between the three men when Daborne asks for money to be paid out of the sums due 'for the play of Mr Fletcher and ours' (ref 016). This is in fact the first extant evidence of Massinger's playwriting activities. Other letters in the Henslowe collection show evidence of a working relationship between Massinger and Daborne; they were jointly held to a bond with Henslowe for £3 in 1615, suggesting that they were writing together, (ref 073) and in an undated letter Daborne writes to Henslowe to suggest that he should receive payment on at least equal terms to those of Massinger (ref 018).

Massinger add to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men during the period when it returned to London in 1622, after an absence of several years, during which it had performed in the provinces. Records from the Revels Office show licensing of Massinger's play *The Noble Bondman*, in 1623 where the playing company is referred to as the Queen of Bohemia's Men (ref 135), and was also played at court, again with reference to the Queen of Bohemia's Men, in December 1624 (ref 136). The 1624 quarto printing of the play however gives the performing company as the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and places it at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. This was the playhouse that was under the management of Christopher Beeston where the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed from 1522 to 1625. The naming of the company as the Queen of Bohemia's Men is problematic as part of the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The records of the company's activities become muddled around 1624 with the name Queen of Bohemia and Lady Elizabeth's Men being used interchangeably. The Queen of Bohemia's Men was to become a separate playing company in its own right, with little crossover between the two but the fact that Lady Elizabeth Stuart was the Queen of Bohemia for the short period from November 1619 until November 1620 obscures the

distinction between the two companies. Massinger's play *The Renegado* similarly is attributed to the 'Queens Majestes Men' at the private house in Drury Lane (ref 169). The dating of the play to 1624 would suggest that it was a Lady Elizabeth Men's play but the title page suggest otherwise. This may simply be a problem that occurs because of the time lapse between the performance of the play and its printing in 1630, several years later. Massinger was by this time a well-known and respected playwright, unlike when he made his first forays into writing for the company. It is likely that Christopher Beeston had effectively made him the house-writer for the Cockpit/Phoenix, and by default the writer for whichever company was there at the time. This model is in complete contrast to the model used by the King's Men who continued to utilise their own dedicated playhouses and playwrights without recourse to the theatre entrepreneurs upon whom so many of the other companies, including the Lady Elizabeth's Men, were reliant.

#### 4.3.4 Ben Jonson

Ben Jonson provided two plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men: *Eastward Ho* and *Bartholomew Fair*. *Eastward Ho* was an old inherited play that came from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels so, although played by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, Jonson would not have had the company in mind whilst writing it. *Bartholomew Fair*, on the other hand, was written specifically for the company, and probably specifically for performance at the Hope. The performance of this play at the Hope is the only record that we have of any one particular drama being performed there. Its first performance was at the playhouse on 31 October 1614, and the next day the company played it in front of the king at court. The company's residency at the Hope did not evolve into a long-term position but the playhouse was important for Henslowe as a business venture, and for the company that was trying to establish itself within the crowded London playing environment.

By the time that *Bartholomew Fair* was first performed on 31 October 1614 Jonson was a well-established playwright and was also known as a writer of masques for performance at court. Philip Henslowe, the owner of the Hope, used his commercial acumen to attempt to build an audience for the recently-formed, and relatively-unknown, company performing at the untried Hope playhouse by using Jonson's fame

and popularity with audiences. Henslowe had a long-standing relationship with Jonson who had written many plays for the Admiral's Men at the Rose. Ian Donaldson goes as far as to suggest that Henslowe had tried to persuade Jonson to become a sharer in the Admiral's Men in 1597 but Jonson did not take up the offer to do this; he did however provide Henslowe with plays for the Admiral's Men. By the time Jonson wrote *Bartholomew Fair* he doubtless knew that he was writing for the Hope as he included references to it within the 'Induction' of the play (ref 065). The play is a city comedy, a genre with which Jonson had experienced earlier success, again suggesting that he and Henslowe were trying to achieve a play that would be a guaranteed commercial success. He also included references that drew attention to Nathan Field, one of the outstanding members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the time. Jonson would have been aware of Field and his abilities from his time writing for the Children of the Queen's Revels where Field was a boy player.

Jonson wrote no further plays for the company but the publication of a folio of his collected works in 1616 establishes him as one of the pre-eminent writers of the time.

#### 4.3.5 Thomas Middleton

Like many of the playwrights that provided plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men Thomas Middleton was an Oxford-educated writer. By 1602 he had started writing for the Admiral's Men and by the time the Lady Elizabeth's Men formed he was already a well-respected and popular writer of plays. His association with the Admiral's Men meant that he already had a working relationship with Philip Henslowe so it is hardly surprising that his plays feature in the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. There are four plays authored by Thomas Middleton within the considered repertory: *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *The Changeling*, and *The Spanish Gypsy*. These four plays span the entirety of the company's life. *No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's* falls into the category of inherited plays, having first been performed in 1611. *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* also falls into this category having been performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Both of these plays fit in with the comedy genre of the early company, but there is no evidence that the play was written specifically for it. There is more likelihood of Middleton's direct interaction with the company in the period when the company was using the Phoenix playhouse following a period of

several years when it had not been seen in London. *The Changeling* was licensed for performance by the company in 1622 and was one of the first plays performed by it on their return to the city (ref 116). The commission for the play was probably implemented by Christopher Beeston as the owner of the playhouse. This arrangement follows the model established by the company during its earlier period in London when it benefitted from the financing of Philip Henslowe. Quite how much interaction the playwright would have had with the company is not certain, but at the very least he would have known how many players were available, and who they were, thereby enabling him to write to the strengths of the company. If Middleton had been commissioned intentionally to write this play for the company it marks a deliberate change in direction for the idea of company 'style'. In a similar way to that of Henslowe introducing Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* to the Hope, perhaps Beeston was simply trying to introduce some form of novelty to encourage an audience back to see a playing company that had been out of the city for six years. The play, being a tragedy, is a diversion from the earlier comedies for which the company was known, and seemingly marks a new direction for the company. If this is so the play *The Spanish Gypsy*, licensed on 9 July 1623, and recorded as 'Acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants at the Phoenix July 9 1623' (ref 128) marks a swift return to the older style of repertory that is characterised by comedy or tragicomedy. The play was also performed at Whitehall for Prince Charles on 5 November 1623 (ref 134), suggesting that the company was happier playing known comic pieces at court. Middleton, however, was well-known at court for writing plays and masques. The unusual point about the royal performance of *The Spanish Gypsy* is that the prince reportedly saw the play at the playhouse rather than, as was more usual, commanding a performance at court.

Middleton's interaction with the company appears to be very limited.

#### 4.3.6 Thomas Dekker

Thomas Dekker provided plays for the company towards the end of its commercial life. Most references to his plays come from the period when the company had established itself at the Cockpit/Phoenix and are seen in the licensing records of the Revels Office. During his early writing career he seems to have written predominantly for companies linked with Philip Henslowe, with much of his work being collaborative, and would

have been a contemporary of Thomas Middelton. John Twynning only identifies seven sole-authored plays in the four years that Dekker initially worked for Henslowe (2004, n. pag), with the rest being jointly written. Collaborative writing was not unusual for writers working for Henslowe, as can be seen from the experiences of Robert Daborne working for Henslowe to provide plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Of the plays that Dekker wrote for the company *Match Me in London* is an early play and there is no conclusive evidence that it was provided for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. It was re-licensed for the company during the period when it was resident at the Phoenix (ref 129), at a point when the playhouse was specifically used for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Even though the play was re-licensed to the company Dekker, as the original writer, would be unlikely to have had any connection with the company simply because the play had been revived. Another play by Dekker, *The Welsh Ambassador*, was licensed for the company's use around this time but seems to have been written specifically for it, suggesting perhaps that he may have had a direct relationship with the company. The play was initially solely-authored, with James Shirley providing later additions and amendments after the Lady Elizabeth's Men had disbanded. Both of these plays were comedies and fitted in with the company's bias towards this genre. The third Dekker play connected with the Lady Elizabeth's Men is *The Sun's Darling* which is more unusual in that it takes the form of a masque and is much shorter than a more conventional play. The play has been dated to 1624 by DEEP which places the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the resident company at the Cockpit. At this point Dekker would have known both the playhouse and the company and would have been in a position to make sure that the play suited the company and its capabilities. Again, it is possible to see the hand of the playhouse owner commissioning a play from a writer who could attract an audience, and who could also introduce an element of novelty with which to engage them.

#### 4.3.7 Others: James Shirley; George Chapman; John Cooke; Cyril Tourneur; Robert Davenport; John Ford

Many of the writers for the Lady Elizabeth's Men have only a peripheral connection with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Writers such as George Chapman, who was responsible for *Chabot, Admiral of France*, possibly had no direct connection with the company

other than being the writer of an old play inherited from a previous company. Other playwrights, such as John Cooke the writer of *Greene's Tu Quoque*, were already dead by the time their plays appear in the documentary record of the company. That writers had little or no connection with the company is not necessarily surprising. At the start of its activities Philip Henslowe took on the task of providing plays for the company to perform, although a group of sharers had a veto over the decision to take the play into its repertory. For its second period of residency in London from 1622, Christopher Beeston took on this role. Others had a role in writing that was part of a collaborative process, which was common for those writers working for Henslowe. Cyril Tourneur comes into this category where he is simply handed a chapter of *The Arraignment of London* 'to write that we may have it ready' (ref 029); that the person who handed over the play for finishing was Robert Daborne is not a surprise.

Writers such as John Ford have amended plays from the company's repertory, but as in the case of Thomas Dekker's play *The Welsh Amabassador*, possibly not until after the play had slipped out of the company's repertory. Alfred Harbage makes only a tentative attribution to Ford in this instance (1964, 116–17). *The Sun's Darling*, another play primarily written by Thomas Dekker is similarly amended by Ford at a later date.

Other writers, with only a passing engagement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men, are linked to the company on the basis of the place of performance of an authored play. Robert Davenport is linked to the company through his authorship of *The City Night Cap*, a play attributed to the company by Alfred Harbage only on the basis that it was played at the Cockpit/Phoenix.

#### **4.4 Patrons**

It was the normal position for playing companies to have a royal or noble patron. By the time of the establishment of the Lady Elizabeth's Men there were already four royal playing companies. The formation of the new company brought this number to five with a company for each of the immediate members of the royal family; upon ascension to the English throne in 1603 James became patron of the Chamberlain's Men, his wife Queen Anne became patron of Worcester's Men who then changed their name to Queen Anne's Men, and their eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales, took over the patronage of the

Admiral's Men who became known as the Prince's Men. The younger children Elizabeth and Charles were not granted patronage of playing companies until much later. The Duke of York's Men was established in 1608, and received its patent in 1610. The Lady Elizabeth's Men was first recorded playing in Bath sometime between 14 October 1610 and 9 October 1611 (ref 001) and received its patent in 1611. These two companies differ from the companies previously patronised by the other members of the royal family because they were set up as new entities; they were not existing companies that simply changed their names to reflect a new patron.

The point of a patron had evolved over time. Roslyn Knutson's essay on adult companies between 1593 and 1603 pre-dates the formation of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and separates the business models upon which companies based themselves into those that had the authority of their patron behind them, and the entrepreneurial model whereby players took a financial interest in the building that the players would use where the role of the named patron was somewhat diminished (2009, 57). The chief proponent of the entrepreneurial model was James Burbage with his relationship with the Chamberlain's Men and then the King's Men.

The establishment of patronship of the Lady Elizabeth's Men evolved this model further. Playing companies still desired, and enjoyed, the prestige that a royal patron may have brought them, although they were often still in need of financial backers. The role taken by Philip Henslowe, in this respect, in relation to the Lady Elizabeth's Men appears to be simply as a provider of funds. His role was not intrinsically essential to the company and, after the 'grievance' of 1615, his role could simply be transported to another provider of capital.

As the relationship of Lady Elizabeth's Men with their patron shows there was little more to the association other than the granting of the name and some playing at court as demanded by the company patent 'for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them' (ref 003). The timing of the formation of the company fits well with the timing of marriage for the princess. Her betrothal to Frederick, Elector Palatine was announced in 1612 with the wedding planned for October, but as discussed in Chapter 1, following the unexpected death of the Prince of Wales in November 1612 the wedding was delayed until the following February.

Lady Elizabeth Stuart was the only surviving daughter of James VI/I. When he ascended to the English throne in 1603 Elizabeth was only six years old. Her presence at court performances is recorded several times, as well as her performances in masques with her mother, Anne of Denmark (Astington 1999, 243). Elizabeth attended performances at court, often accompanied by Henry, Prince of Wales, or Prince Charles and, following her betrothal, by Frederick, Elector Palatine. Her attendances at court plays were not limited simply to those of the company of which she was the patron but included plays of other companies too. During the first year in which the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed at court 1611/12 Elizabeth is cited in the records as having been present on at least seven occasions, none of which were for the company she patronised. These seven performances were unlikely to have been the only occasions at which she attended performances by professional players. The payment records are such that they often only record the most senior royal in attendance and ignore the presence of the lesser members of the royal family. John H. Astington places the first occasion when the princess is firmly noted as being at a performance of the Lady Elizabeth's Men as 20 October 1612 (1999, 245) at the Cockpit in Whitehall although it is probable that she attended one of the 25 performances in that year where either the Prince of Wales or Prince Charles was recorded as present.

One of the most important performances for the company in front of the princess would have been the playing of *The Dutch Courtesan* on 25 February 1613 as part of the celebrations of her marriage. This was also the final recorded court performance of the company in front of their patron. Following the marriage, which took place on 14 February 1614, the princess and her new husband travelled throughout the south-east on their way to the coast for transport across the English Channel for their journey to Heidelberg where they were to live.

The progress of Lady Elizabeth and Frederick towards the port towns on the coast coincided with a period when the playing company was also travelling in the same vicinity suggesting that it followed the royal party. Even if this were not in an official capacity it was a shrewd business move as the company would have been the recipient of a degree of reflected prestige from its association with the royal party. The departure of the Lady Elizabeth was the end of any active patronage from her, but the company



traded on her name throughout its continued existence, presumably in the full knowledge, and approval from the king and the Master of the Revels as the company continued to receive travelling licences issued in the name of Elizabeth.

The way in which Elizabeth was fêted on her travels with Frederick demonstrated the public's great depth of feeling towards; the preparations for the royal visit at Canterbury show the extent to which towns would go to accommodate and entertain the couple and their entourage (ref 023). After the couple's move to Heidleberg Elizabeth's interest in entertainment and play-going continued; she 'insisted on upholding the standard of entertainment to which she had grown accustomed during her youth' (Akkerman 2015, 17) and to this end she had an indoor theatre constructed by Inigo Jones at Heidleberg Castle (Akkerman 2015, 18). In 1619 Frederick accepted the crown of Bohemia but this was to be a short-lived reign as the couple were deposed in 1620 at the Battle of White Mountain. After this the couple fled to The Hague where she spent much of the rest of her life in exile, returning to England only in the summer of 1661 and where she died shortly afterwards in February 1622 (Asch 2004). The long period in which Elizabeth lived out of the country meant that she was not an active patron of its theatre, but her name lived through the company, and through her name the Lady Elizabeth's Men were able reap some small advantages, and curry favour, at some provincial towns.

#### **4.5 Coda**

The work of the Lady Elizabeth's Men was subject to the influence of several groups of people. The 34 players connected to the Lady Elizabeth's Men were a shifting assortment of people (see Appendix 3). The founders of the company, John Townsend and Joseph Moore, were not known of before their involvement with the company, however as signatories to its founding patent document, they must have been respected members of the commercial playing theatre industry of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Evidence shows that Townsend remained with the company throughout its existence (see Appendix 3), so as one of the original signatories, and the longest-serving member of the company, he may be considered the de facto leader of the company. Moore's connection with the company was a little more fractured. By 22 April 1620 Moore had left the company, reportedly a year previously, to take up inn-keeping in Chichester, but

he was also seen presenting documents to play in Norwich in the previous February, suggesting that he headed up a breakaway company. Moore's failure to turn up to defend Francis Wambus in 1624 also calls into question his continued relationship with the company after 1620, but before this point he had been a trusted member of the company, and indeed of the wider playhouse community. As the system of presenting papers at individual towns to ask for permissions to play fell into disrepute with unlicensed companies presenting duplicate, or false papers, Moore was given the task by William Herbert, Master of the Revels, of taking a document to the provincial towns to warn them of this practice (ref 082). This shows the degree of esteem in which the company and its members were held.

Whilst we know from the patent document that Townsend and Moore were the de facto leaders of the company it has been possible to establish the early members of the company. The bond signed with Philip Henslowe has been taken as evidence of the composition of the early company and names ten players besides Townsend and Moore, but travelling performing licences presented in Coventry suggests that a different set of players may have been operating in the provinces (ref 069). Most of these players are little-known, and it is unlikely that they displaced the better-known players that worked in association with Philip Henslowe in London. The probable explanation for an almost completely different set of names appearing in the provinces is that the Grievances lodged against Philip Henslowe (ref 068) almost certainly led to the effective disbandment of the company which, in reduced straits, fell back on touring under the leadership of Townsend and Moore. Insight into the activities of the players when touring is seen in the reports of their often fractious interactions with authority figures.

The role of the financiers of the Lady Elizabeth's Men was in many ways more important than the creative input of players and writers. In this respect Philip Henslowe, and later Christopher Beeston were the most influential, with both men instrumental in providing playing material for the members of the company. Without the intervention of either of these men to provide the prestige of a London base the company would have been reduced to the status of a provincial touring company. Henslowe and Beeston were both able to provide the Lady Elizabeth's Men with the security of a playhouse, although the company's challenge against Henslowe demonstrated the power that he

held over them as it resulted in an effective exile to the provinces during the years 1616 to 1622. When the company returned to London under the effective management of Christopher Beeston they entered a more stable relationship which persisted until the company was dissolved in 1625.

The players had little influence over the plays they performed in, although those choosing the plays undertaken by the company must have taken the individual talents of players into consideration when selecting plays and directed writers to take advantage of available talent; players such as William Baxter were known to be esteemed comic players. The role of writers was, in many ways, peripheral to the workings of the company. Some insight is gained into their interactions with the company from the many letters between Robert Daborne and Philip Henslowe where an ongoing dialogue is maintained between the financier and the writer. Through these letters one can see the commissioning process at work, with Henslowe requesting plays, and Daborne offering to read them to the company for some sort of dramatic approval. It is however Henslowe, as the provider of funds, who has the power in the three-way relationship between players, writer, and financier. Even after Daborne threatens to remove a play to another company it is Henslowe's funds that keep him writing for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

The writers for the company operated on what we would now see as a free-lance basis; whilst some, like Daborne, were financially more dependent upon Philip Henslowe, others just offered a few plays. The evidence shows that writing and playing were effectively split within the activities of the Lady Elizabeth's Men with only one player, Nathan Field, also writing for them.

The relationship between playing company and of the company's patron was not a close one. The Lady Elizabeth fulfilled a 'ceremonial' role only; she interacted with the company in no way other than as a figurehead and an occasional audience member. Her name added a certain prestige to the company as there were only five companies named for a royal patron. In the year of her marriage, just two years after the company's formation, the Lady Elizabeth's Men took commercial advantage of their connection with her, by following the newly-wed couple as they travelled through Sussex and Kent, on their way to meet a ship that was to take them across the channel on their way to

Heidelberg. As the couple stopped en route evidence shows that the company performed in as many of the local towns as they could.

The personnel of the company had intertwined relationships. The company would not have been a viable commercial organisation without any one of these groups. Whilst it is true that without the financiers the company would have struggled to obtain the necessary elements required to perform, if the players had been insufficiently talented they would not have attracted the audiences necessary for commercial success. Similarly if the writing of the drama performed was not of sufficient merit the company would have failed to gain an audience. The Lady Elizabeth's Men was able to attract players and writers of sufficient proficiency and quality because they could call upon the finances of Henslowe and Beeston, and the prestige of an association with a royal patron.

## Chapter 5: Places of Performance: Playhouses, Court and Touring Practices of the Company

In order to put on their plays for a paying audience the Lady Elizabeth's Men needed places in which to perform. Throughout the various embodiments of the company it used a disparate collection of venues. We know from the company's original patent that it was allowed to play in London and in the provinces, as well as being required to play at court at the king's behest. Each of these different venues provided a challenge for the company, not least because commercially it was tasked to find its own locations.

Playing places were dictated to various degrees by circumstances outside the company's control but can be divided into three categories; permanent London places of performance, royal court playing, and regional touring playing spaces. There are certain things required of a playing space: a stage, a tiring house, space for the audience, but the variety of different spaces in which the company performed could be problematic.

### 5.1 London Playing Houses

The setting up of the Lady Elizabeth's Men brought the number of active London-based companies to five. This was a challenging situation for the company as it had no permanent residence of its own and was a circumstance that was recognised within the document that gave the company a legal identity. In the document, the company was given permission to play 'in and about our Cittie of London in such vsuall howses as themselues shall p<ro>uide' (ref 004). This situation was probably the factor that encouraged the company to look to Philip Henslowe to provide it with the physical playing space that it required in London. The company had two main periods of playing in London; it was active in the city from its formation until 1616, and then again from 1622 until its demise in 1625. Between these separate periods it spent much time travelling around provincial cities and towns. During the earlier London period it was linked with three playhouses: the Swan, the Hope, and Whitefriars. The Swan and the Hope were located on the south bank of the Thames and capitalised upon the reputation that the area had garnered for itself as an entertainment centre. The later period of the company's London existence was dominated by a residency at the Phoenix in the north of the city which had by that time become the dominant playgoing area. The company

looks to have positioned itself within established areas of playgoing. There are two possible reasons for this: first, as these were well-established areas, there were already playhouses available for the company's use; or secondly the company could have been conservative in nature, and the players were not prepared to take a financial risk by establishing themselves in new areas. Given the precarious nature of the finances of many of the players, this was a situation with which they would have been uncomfortable. It is the very nature of the finances of players that would lead them to signing documents with Philip Henslowe, as they were not themselves in a position to provide the necessary playing space for the company.

#### 5.1.1 The Swan

The Swan was one of the earliest commercial playhouses to be based on the south bank of the Thames, close to Philip Henslowe's Rose playhouse and later to the Globe belonging to the King's Men. This placed it at the centre of playgoing in London. It was one of the earliest playhouses to be linked to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The title page of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, one of the early plays within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, was reportedly played there by the company (ref 168).

The playhouse had originally been built in 1595 by Francis Langley. The venture was a speculative one, with no resident playing company in mind; it hosted a number of different playing companies during its operative years. The details of the Swan were sketched by Johannes de Witt in 1595 and show an outdoor amphitheatre-type playhouse with a raised thrust stage. In its design it wasn't significantly different from other playhouses of the time; the sketch shows the playhouse to be ovoid, or circular, in shape with covered tiered seating for the audience as well as a yard space for standing. At the time of its building it would have been a popular playhouse, simply because of its novelty value, and its development, in close proximity to the well-established Rose theatre, would have helped to cement the reputation of the south bank of the Thames as an entertainment centre.

By the time the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed at the Swan, after 1611 but before its closure in 1615, the Swan was no longer one of the pre-eminent playhouses in London. Francis Langley had a troubled relationship with the licensing authorities and there had been periods when the playhouse was unlicensed for performance. At one

point in 1598 when there appeared to be only two licensed playing companies, the Lord Admiral's Men, and the Lord Chamberlain's Men, William Ingram contends that the Swan's role 'as a public playhouse [was] effectively suspended' (1978, 205). The fate of the Swan as a place of theatrical performance seems to have been even more uncertain following Langley's death in 1602. Langley's interest in the playhouse was sold to Hugh Browker before his death and there are no records of play performances during his period of ownership (W. Ingram 1978, 286–87). The playhouse seems to have been revived as a play performance venue for *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* by the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Their tenure there must have been short; there is no evidence of other plays being performed there by the company, but having secured a venue, even one as run down as the Swan was likely to have been by this point, suggests that the possibility of the company continuing to use the Swan was not inconceivable. By 1613 the Swan had been closed again, so it must have been used by the Lady Elizabeth's Men before this. The closure of the Swan coincided with Philip's Henslowe's plans to develop the Hope playhouse at the Bear Gardens. The building of a new playhouse by Philip Henslowe could be seen as the point which prompted the final closure of the Swan as a performance venue for plays.

#### 5.1.2 The Hope

Philip Henslowe and Jacob Meade commissioned Gilbert Katherens to undertake building of a new playhouse on land owned by Henslowe at the Bear Gardens on the south bank of the Thames in 1613. The location of the playhouse was judiciously chosen; the area of the south bank had become well-known to play-goers. It was the site for Henslowe's first purpose-built playhouse, the Rose, and was also the location for the Globe, used by the King's Men, and so provided a site that would be attractive, not to mention lucrative, to a theatre entrepreneur. Henslowe took the decision that the new playhouse should be built to the same model as the Swan and instructed Katherens to 'builde the same of suche large compasse, fforme, widenes, and height as the Plaie house Called the Swan' (ref 041). This instruction suggests that Henslowe considered that the structure of the Swan was still suitable for commercial success within the playing marketplace.

The contract between the Henslowe and Katherens is insistent that the playhouse be fitted out such that it was suitable ‘both for players to play in, and for the game of bears and bulls’ (ref 041). This element of the design of the new playhouse was to be the cause of consternation for the players that performed there. The directions that the heavens be erected without recourse to any supporting posts suggests that the stage space would be clear of obstruction. This is not as the de Witt diagram depicts the Swan, nor as the modern-day replica of an early-modern stage at Shakespeare’s Globe has been erected, but such a structure would lead to a very open and clear stage. This would have made the staging of *Bartholomew Fair*, the play that is most associated both with the Lady Elizabeth’s Men, and with the playhouse, very simple. The staging of the play calls for a variety of fair booths to be on stage for each of the characters involved with the fair; Ursula the piglady, and the Punch and Judy theatre would all be presented with their booths. A stage with pillars obstructing the playing area would not so easily accommodate such structures.

There is however little evidence to suggest that other plays of the company were performed here. Henslowe invested £360 pounds in the project so it is likely that this was not a speculative venture like Langley’s Swan. The dating of the management agreement between Henslowe and the players of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men suggests that he, perhaps, had the homeless Lady Elizabeth’s Men in mind as tenants when he was developing the playhouse; the instruction that the Hope playhouse be built to the model of a playhouse with which the players were already familiar would also have made the new playhouse more appealing to them.

Henslowe’s Hope, however, was not to prove to be a success for the Lady Elizabeth’s Men. The joint operation of the playhouse as a venue for animal-baiting led to disagreements with Henslowe over the time allocated to such entertainments. Baiting days reduced the company’s opportunities to perform, and therefore their ability to engage in profit-making activities. These disagreements were to prove the end of the company’s arrangements with Henslowe, and also signalled the end of its commercial enterprises in the capital, as upon its departure from the Hope, the Lady Elizabeth’s Men was once again without a London base.



### 5.1.3 Whitefriars

The connection with the company at Whitefriars is fragmentary, and not entirely convincing. The Whitefriars was a disused monastery, previously home to an order of Carmelite monks, situated north of the River Thames. As a 'liberty', like the better known Blackfriars playhouse, the Whitefriars fell under the direct control of the crown and was not subject to authority of the city. Like the popular play-going area south of the Thames this environment was attractive to those who wished to avoid the gaze of the city regulators. By the time the Lady Elizabeth's Men was founded in 1611 the indoor playhouse at Blackfriars had become the home to the King's Men.

Glynne Wickham suggests that the Lady Elizabeth's Men may have used Whitefriars in the period after their formation (2009, 448) but there is little concrete evidence to support this conjecture. Upon the reformation of the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1610 under Philip Rosseter the boys' company occupied the Whitefriars; this company then merged temporarily with the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613. It is this period of a merged company that is put forward as the time when the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed at Whitefriars. It is possible that the merged company did play in this space during this time although, as Rosseter's lease on Whitefriars ran out in 1614, this would have been a short-lived arrangement. John Marston's play *The Insatiate Countess* was performed at Whitefriars in 1613 but the title page is silent about which company played it; it is possible that it could have been played by a joint company, but equally feasible that it was performed by the Revels company, the original company of performance, alone.

### 5.1.4 Porter's Hall

Following the end of the lease on Whitefriars steps were made to secure permanent playing space at the Blackfriars. Philip Rosseter was again the main instigator behind the attempt to develop a second playing space within the precincts of Blackfriars; at this time the King's Men were performing successfully during winter seasons at the Blackfriars playhouse thus making a viable business case for the establishment of a second playing venue at a nearby location. On 3 June 1615 Rosseter, together with Robert Daborne, signed a lease for the new playing house, which was initially financed by Philp Henslowe, and then following his death in 1616, by Edward Alleyn. By the

time the lease was signed Robert Daborne was in effect the house-writer for the Lady Elizabeth's Men and, significantly for this venture, owned a property interest in the Porter's Hall at Blackfriars, on 3 June 1615 for the new playing space.

The identity of the ultimate theatrical tenant is muddled by the joint business venture between Rosseter and his partners. Rosseter appears to have maintained allegiance with the remainder of the Children of the Queen's Revels whilst Daborne, through his association with Philip Henslowe, was writing for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Gurr makes the point that 'it is not clear whether the revived Revels Children or the Lady Elizabeth's Men were expected to use it' (1996, 360) and the suggested temporary joining of the two companies makes commercial sense in this situation.

Regardless of whether an individual company or a merged company became the tenant, the Porter's Hall venture was short-lived and a commercial failure. Building work was started but was vigorously objected to by Sir Edward Cokes; a petition to cease work was raised meaning that it is not clear if the company ever successfully performed in this space.

#### 5.1.5 The Cockpit/Phoenix

The Cockpit/Phoenix was to prove one of the most stable and successful venues for the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Following the company's return to London in 1622 the premises were provided for it by Christopher Beeston. The playhouse had originally been developed, as its name implies, as a venue for cockfighting. Beeston acquitted the property in August 1616 at which point it was described as a collection of:

edifices or buildings called the Cockpittes and the Cockhouses and sheds thervnto adioying [...] Together also with one tenement or house and a little Garden [...] and one part or parcel of ground behind the said Cockpittes Cockhouses three Tenements and garden.  
(Bentley 1968, 6:48)

The cockpit and associated buildings were developed to provide a new playhouse on the site. If Beeston's intention had been to attract a sophisticated audience with disposable income for his new playhouse he had chosen its location well. As Bentley recognises in his assessment of the playhouse its location 'well outside of the city, closer to Whitehall and St James's than any other London playhouse, and within easy walking distance of

all four inns of court' was a good one (1968, 6:48) as it gave a ready supply of playhouse-literate audience members. Following the conversion Beeston opened the playhouse but within a year it was destroyed in riots at Easter on 4 March 1617. Edward Sherburne described the extensive destruction of the playhouse by some three or four thousand apprentices:

Making for Drury Lane (where lately a new playhouse is erected), they beset the house round, broke in, wounded divers of the players, broke open their trunks, and what apparel, books, or other things they found they burned and cut in pieces  
(Wickham 1972, 629)

The playhouse was quickly rebuilt and acquired the name of the Phoenix which symbolised its rising again from the ashes of the cockpit buildings.

Beeston ran the Cockpit as a sole theatrical entrepreneur in a similar manner to Henslowe's operation of his playhouses; there were no sharers for him to take into consideration when deciding how he would operate the Cockpit/Phoenix. The decisions about which playing companies were to be resident were his alone. The first occupants under Beeston's management were the Queen's Men in 1616. The Lady Elizabeth's Men had left London's commercial playing environment at this point, restricting itself to provincial playing; the lack of a permanent commercial playhouse would have been a significant factor in this decision. By 1622, Beeston was instrumental in the company's return to commercial playing in London, when he installed it in the Cockpit/Phoenix, which was by this time part of a thriving theatrical economy.

## **5.2 Court playing**

By the time James came to the English throne in 1603 court playing was a well-established tradition and was seen as an important and vital extension of patronage for the playing companies. As part of their original patent the Lady Elizabeth's Men were under an obligation to play before the king as and when he commanded (ref 003); this command extended to include other members of the royal household such as the company's patron, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, and her brothers. The court was not a fixed location but rather wherever the monarch of the day was physically present; John

Astington describes the court as a 'political and administrative institution' rather than as a physical location (Astington 1999, 1). Playing companies performed at several London locations connected with the royal court and were paid through the accounts of the royal household for these appearances. It is through these accounting records that we can trace some of the performing history of the company. Court performances were held to showcase the 'cultural sophistication that monarchs wished to foster' (Astington 1999, 5–6) and so only the best of playing companies would have been invited to perform; these companies included all of the companies that had been granted royal patronage. The Lady Elizabeth's Men was very active at court during its early years. Their first performance was in January 1612 during the Michaelmas festivities before Henry, Prince of Wales and his fifteen year old sister Elizabeth, the royal patron of the company (ref 007). By attending a performance of the company over which she had patronage the princess was publicly acknowledging her support of the players; the presence of her brother as a senior royal added to the prestige of the company. The king first attended a performance of the Lady Elizabeth's Men at Whitehall on 25 February 1612.

The number of times the company played at court is indeterminate. Andrew Gurr counts a total of 16 performances (1996, 412–13) but only ten performances are acknowledged by John H. Astington (1999, 244–55). This disparity between the two arises around the attribution of the later plays in the company's repertory with Gurr assigning *The Spanish Gypsy*, *The Noble Bondman*, *The Changeling*, and *Cupid's Revenge* to the company, and Astington nominating them as plays of the Queen of Bohemia's Men or, in the case of *Cupid's Revenge*, to the King's Men. Both agree that the latest play of all to be played at court by Lady Elizabeth's Men was *Greene's Tu Quoque* on 6 January 1625.

Royal locations for performance depended upon for whom the company was playing. The performing spaces were differentiated by the seniority of the audience rather than the seniority of the playing companies. John H. Astington assigns the palace at Whitehall for all but one of the court performances of the Lady Elizabeth's Men but this complex had different spaces available within it for the commanded performances of the commercial playing companies. Performances for the king were held in the

bigger, grander halls of Grand Chamber or the Banqueting Hall with performances in front of the junior members of the royal household tending to be at the smaller Cockpit. This use of the grander halls is not surprising if the performance of plays by professional companies was part of the role of diplomacy at court. The use of such spaces was intended to show the monarch in the best light possible when entertaining foreign royalty and diplomats, or hosting royal occasions such as the marriage of his daughter.

#### 5.2.1 The Royal Cockpit

The small cockpit was, as its name suggests, a building with an original use that was not that of the performance of plays. This was the usual situation that the commercial playing companies found when they were commanded to perform at court in that they were required to use adapted space. The companies themselves were not responsible for the conversion of the spaces into appropriate venues for performance. This work, and its cost, was taken on by the royal administration through the Revels Office; the Masters of the Revels with whom the Lady Elizabeth's Men would have had relationships in this respect were Sir George Buck, from 1610 to 1622, and Sir Henry Herbert from 1623 onwards. The job of the Master of the Revels was twofold but linked; he selected and approved plays for performance at court, and his office would make arrangements with the Office of the Works to arrange the physical staging for performance, and the seating required for the audience. Astington describes the division between the two offices such that 'the Works built the auditorium seating' [and] the Revels hung lights, built stage decorations, tiring houses, and music houses, and looked after backstage requirements (Astington 1999, 14–15). The second, and related aspect of the job of the Revels was the licensing of plays for the commercial playing companies, for which lucrative fees were received.

One of the main royal spaces associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men was the royal cockpit located at the palace complex at Westminster which had been converted into playing space. Initially this was a temporary conversion which was not made permanent until 1629-30, after the last court performance of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Until this conversion was made the cockpit served two purposes but would have been prepared for theatrical performances during the Michaelmas court seasons. The exterior

of the building was small and gave an octagonal space inside providing an intimate area for playing which was used when the company performed for the princess and her brother Henry, Prince of Wales, rather than for performances in front of the king. During 1611-12, the first year in which the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed at court, 13 of the 39 performances of all companies were in front of the king, and of these none have been identified as being at the cockpit. During that particular season Astington identifies four occasions when the cockpit was used for theatrical performances, each of these being attended by junior member of the royal family (1999, 244–45). This suggests that the smaller cockpit was considered to be of lesser prestige than the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and that when the king attended performances the larger spaces were necessary for the entourage that would have followed the monarch.

### 5.2.2 Whitehall

The Lady Elizabeth's Men did not appear in front of the King until 25 January 1613 when it played *Eastward Ho* at the Palace at Whitehall. This was followed with a performance of *Bartholomew Fair* at the Banqueting House which is also part of the Whitehall complex. The performing spaces at Whitehall were subject to much alteration in readiness for performances during the Michaelmas and Easter periods. The main work required was the provision of seating for the audience which Astington writes would have been 'constructed of rising ranks of benches ('degrees') supported on a wooden framework braced against the wall [with] more exclusive seating [...] provided as boxes, closed off from the open rows with partitions, and sometimes raised on posts' (1999, 317). The choice of plays for performance in front of the king is interesting. The first play *Eastward Ho*, is a play that was inherited by the Lady Elizabeth's Men and had a history of censorship, leading to imprisonment for its authors when it was first played in 1603. As discussed in Chapter 1 this could be seen as a risky choice for the company to have made, but by the time it was played by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in front of the king, any sensitivities appear to have passed. The second play, *Bartholomew Fair*, had been given its first public performance only the day before it was performed in front of the king. This could be seen as risk-taking by the company but mitigating factors such as the author being Ben Jonson, a writer of many court masques, negated any threat to the company's reputation; Ian Donaldson suggests that Jonson could be considered to be 'at the height of his career as a dramatist and writer of court masques'

by 1611, just a few years before the staging of *Bartholomew Fair* (Donaldson 2004, n.p.).

After the performance of *Bartholomew Fair* the company did not play in front of the king until it returned to London in 1622 following its period of provincial playing. Following the pattern of its previous performances, it once again performed for the king at Whitehall. The choice of performance venue would not have been influenced by the company at all as the arrangements for royal playing were in the hands of the Master of the Revels.

### 5.3 Touring Practices

The first extant document relating to the Lady Elizabeth's Men evidences the touring activities of the company (ref 001). The document is a regional performance payment record from the Chancellor's Office of Bath and relates to a single performance for which the company received 20 shillings, but because of the nature of the record the dating can only be made to a range of time rather than to one specific date. The implication of this is that the performance (between 14 October 1610 and 9 October 1611) could predate the licence of 11 April 1611. The patent document refers specifically to travelling and granted the company rights to play. Royal patronage, even from one of the junior members of the royal family, brought with it many benefits; such patronage offered touring companies opportunities to play within towns and cities with the permission of the monarch. The licence that established the Lady Elizabeth's Men laid out terms under which the company should have been welcomed within towns that it visited.

And alsoe within anie Towne halls mootehalles Guyldhalls Schoolehowses  
or other convenient places within the lib<sup>er</sup>tye and freedome of anie other  
Cittie vniu'sitie Towne or Burroughe whatsoeuer within our Realmes and  
Domynions willing and comaundinge you and everie of you as you tender  
our pleasure not onlie to p<sup>er</sup>mitt and suffer them herein without any your  
letts hinderances molesta<sup>õ</sup>ns or distubances during our said pleasure but  
alsoe to be ayding and assisting vnto them if anie wronge be vnto them  
offred  
(ref 004)

This instruction, often more honoured in its breach rather than its observance, was later superseded by touring licences granted by the Office of the Master of the Revels, referred to public spaces such as guildhalls under the control of local authorities. The number of spaces that the company had available for use under the licence varied in size and suitability for performance. The company would also have been available to play in private houses. Such playing would have been unregulated, and outside the scope of the licensing regulations. The evidence for playing in private space is by its very nature sparse as the corroborating documents have often been kept within family archives and, as properties changed hands, or the fortunes of families changed, have often been lost. Civic records, on the other hand, have been centrally maintained and have proven to be more durable. The basis for much of the transcription of archive work undertaken by Records of Early English Drama (*REED*) has therefore necessarily concentrated upon the civic records but where available domestic records have been accessed, transcribed and recorded. The effect of this is that the incidence of playing in domestic spaces may be under-recorded.

#### 5.3.1 Public spaces

The spaces that the company found for itself whilst paying in the provinces tended to be civic spaces such as guildhalls that were under the control of the towns' authorities. The records that exist imply that whilst playing in these towns the company was paid directly by the authorities of the town. This is a different commercial model to that under which the company operated whilst it played in London. In the capital the company, like other commercial companies, was financially rewarded through audience receipts. The amounts that the company received from civic authorities were variable but the reason for the variety of fees is difficult to discern. Perhaps the prestige of royal patronage attracted a higher fee, or else the company was simply paid for the number of performances that it gave during any given period.

#### 5.3.2 Private/domestic spaces

The only firm evidence for the use of such performance space by the Lady Elizabeth's Men is the use of Dunkenhall in Lancashire. The property was owned by the Walmsley family who had benefitted from the patronage of James VI/I. Within the domestic records of Dunkenhall playing by the Lady Elizabeth's Men was first



recorded in the period between 8 November 1615 and 6 February 1616 (ref 075). This timing covers the Christmas entertaining period, a period where the householders would wish to put on the best entertainment they possibly could. During the payment period other travelling playing companies appeared at the house but the Lady Elizabeth's Men were the only ones to carry royal patronage. This first visit was repeated within the year as evidenced by a payment for the period between 22 October 1616 and 7 February 1617 (ref 081); again the dating suggests an appearance over the celebratory period of Christmas. The company returned to the household the following year (ref 090), again during the Christmas entertainment period, but its appearance in this geographical area calls into question a failed attempt to play in Exeter on 18 December 1617 (ref 088). The distance between the two locations is some 300 miles using modern roads. It is not impossible for a travelling company to move this distance during winter months but would present logistical difficulties. It is possible that the company may have suffered some division between personnel which allowed for a split in the company allowing it to visit both locations within a short timespan.

Visits to Dunkenhalgh started in the period when the company was absent from London. This could be read as a trajectory that starts with companies playing in London, moving to the provinces when that fails, and then playing at private houses if that does not prove to be lucrative. The Christmas period at Dunkenhalgh became a regular part of the activities of the Lady Elizabeth's Men with it playing there in 1616/17, 1617/18, and again in 1620/2. The performance on 2 January 1621 (ref 110) was preceded by a visit from the King's Men. As this was an important commercial playing company with senior patronage ranking to the Lady Elizabeth's Men this is another indication of importance of private houses to the commercial companies. An examination of the known performance locations in close proximity to Dunkenhalgh does not show there to be any evidence that the company was performing in the vicinity of the property at these times. This could indicate that Dunkenhalgh was a primary destination for it rather than a stopgap on the way to another performance location. These three recorded performances all took place in the period when the company was effectively shut out of commercial playing in London. It survived by playing provincial civic locations, but the records from Dunkenhalgh show that private playing was an important part of its commercial activity.

A much later performance at Dunkenhall came in 1630 (ref 172). This attribution to the Lady Elizabeth's Men is problematic for several reasons. The company playing under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men had effectively been disbanded in 1625, and whilst some provincial payment records exist that refer to the Lady Elizabeth's Men after that date they often muddle the name of the company, or do not include players with any previous connection to the company. The Dunkenhall payment record itself also lays a suspicion that the company playing might not be whom it claims to be; the record notes that the payment was to 'players which tearmet themselves the lady Elizabeths players' (ref 172).

Barbara Palmer identifies playing in private houses by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in her preparatory work for the Derbyshire *REED* volume. The company was paid £2 on 19 July 1612 for the performance of 'one play after supper on Saturday night' at Londesborough Hall in Yorkshire; this was the estate of Francis Clifford, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cumberland (Palmer 2001, 19). The payment record also notes that there were 16 players present on this occasion. This number of players, like the list of players recorded at Coventry in 1615 (ref 069) suggests that the company operated with a full complement of players when travelling and did not attempt to reduce the company size in any way for these performances. This 1612 appearance at Londesborough was followed up by a visit to the same venue several years later. The record described by Palmer describes a 'Compny of Players thar Came hither to Londsborough, & plaied fflower plaies before his Lp. They pretending to belong to my La: Elizabeth her grace' (Palmer 2001, 19). A further payment to the Lady Elizabeth's Men was made on 6 February 1622 but no aspersions were cast upon the identity of the company at this time. Indeed, beside the payment from the household, an additional personal payment of £1 was made to the company by Lady Clifford thereby adding to the credibility of the company that presented itself at this time. Palmer suggests that this potential imposter company was the same one that was to later present itself at Dunkenhall under the leadership of Ellis Guest in 1630 but the time between the two performances is such that this is unlikely.

These private performance spaces were an important part of the itinerary of any playing company that travelled. By visiting the estates of the established nobility such

as the Cliffords or the more recently elevated families such as the Walmsleys, the Lady Elizabeth's Men were using the power of patronage in much the same way that the London-based companies used the names of their patrons to help to establish their reputation.

## 5.4 Coda

One of the defining qualities of the Lady Elizabeth's Men was its inability to secure a permanent place of playing, especially in its early years. This was symptomatic of a wider failure to acquire the necessities for successful playing. Whilst a group of players had been gathered together under John Townsend and Joseph Moore, this was to prove insufficient to enable a successful company to operate. It was this absence of playing space that led the company to operate under managers such as Philip Henslowe and Christopher Beeston. These managers were able to provide the necessary playing spaces, but in return for this necessary physical space they each took control of the company.

Playing spaces in London were a scarce commodity and initially the company secured space at the Swan where they performed *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. Through Philip Henslowe the company secured residency at the Hope which he built in 1613, probably with the latest London company in mind. The residency was to prove to be an unhappy one for the company as the players believed that Henslowe, and later his partner Jacob Meade, unfairly deprived them of days for playing in favour of bear-baiting.

Both of these playhouses connected with the early company had the commercial advantage of being on the south bank of the Thames, in an area closely connected with the commercial theatre industry. Placing themselves here is a statement that the company wanted to be viewed as a serious commercial, and dramatic, company. Unfortunately both of these early playhouses were compromised in one way or another. The Swan had outgrown its days as a successful playhouse and the dual use of the Hope as a baiting pit was distasteful and unprofitable for the playing company.

The failure of the Hope as a permanent playing space for the Lady Elizabeth's Men resulted in the company retreating into the provinces as a touring company.

Provincial playing meant two things for the Lady Elizabeth's Men; many of its players chose to remain in London with more secure companies, and the company found itself in a position where it had to jostle with other companies to secure permissions to play in the provincial town halls. Touring led to many altercations with various town authorities, leading to the dismissal of the company without playing. Despite the reluctance of some towns to allow the company to play it was still welcome in the private homes of the gentry and nobility. The company played for Francis Clifford, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cumberland both in their early career in 1612, and later in 1622 just before their return to London performance. Such patronage was important for a company whose own patron had moved to Germany following her marriage and did not return to England until long after the company's demise.

Playing at royal courts for its patron and members of her family was only a small part of the company's activities, but it was symbolic of an acceptance within society. It was the company's failure to secure a permanent playing space that led them to provincial playing, and should be seen as a key point in the history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

## Chapter 6: The Documents of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

The documents relating to the Lady Elizabeth's Men have been compiled into a source book which is referred to throughout this thesis. The sourcebook has been compiled from systematic searches of various sources of evidence, both primary and secondary, and is annotated to give a wider understanding of the circumstances to which each document relates. The spellings of the original transcriptions have been kept. Adherence to this means that original inconsistencies of spelling, especially of names, are apparent; inconsistencies of spelling were not uncommon but it remains a possibility that they might arise from the errors of the original transcriptions, rather than from the original document.

The transcriptions here rely upon the editorial processes of earlier transcribers. In his foreword to *Henslowe's Diary* R.A Foakes acknowledges 'the possibilities of error in transcription to which all editors' are susceptible (Henslowe 1961, xlv). Inevitably there will be some such errors within the transcriptions in this thesis.

Within the source documents previously transcribed there are differences in editorial practice but each source as been recorded here in accordance with its original transcription. The main differences arise in the treatment of contractions. Transcripts from Malone Society *Collections* and *Henslowe's Papers* use custom character fonts to replicate commonly used contractions; the fonts used differ between these publications. The transcriptions from the Records of Early English Drama (REED) use a latinate font, and indicate the expansion of a contraction with the use of italics. The aim of this thesis has been to replicate the transcriptions so that they are a faithful rendering of the original.

Documentary sources are transcribed verbatim and litteratim as far as possible. Some publications, for example the Malone Society's *Collections* series, use custom-made type to reproduce idiosyncratic abbreviations that appear in manuscript sources. Where these custom-made letter shapes cannot be produced by the Microsoft Word word-processing software, the abbreviations are here expanded to their conventional full

forms, with the expanded letters enclosed in triangular brackets (“<...>”). In general, the preferred sources used here are the Malone Society *Collections* for patent documents and court payments, Henslowe’s Papers (W. W. Greg edition) for personal correspondence and contracts, the Records of Early English Drama (REED) volumes for local authority payment records, Henry Herbert’s Office Book (N. W. Bawcutt edition) for Master of the Revels records, and early printed play editions for title-page information.

The documents have arranged chronologically as far as this can be ascertained. The datings of the original transcribers has been used, unless there is evidence to suggest that the dating is incorrect. Where datings have been changed this has been noted in the entry. Where it has not been possible to give an exact date the entry has been placed at the beginning of the year to which it related, or if a transcription falls within a series of entries the ordering of the original transcriber has been followed, except where there is evidence to suggest that this is incorrect. Printed editions of plays have been placed within the year in which they were published as this is the date of the origination of the evidence; dates of performance, where they are known, are given within the annotations. A reference to the source is given underneath each entry.

No attempt is made here to record within a transcription the pagination or foliation of the original, these breaks were in any case almost always omitted by the transcribers, nor to record the breaks imposed upon the document by its reproduction in the source relied upon here. Although lists have been used, an attempt has been made to ensure that narrative and figures can be read as they were seemingly intended. Long lists have on occasion been shortened, as the surrounding information has little to add to our knowledge of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men; this indicated by the use of [. . .] at the start of such a list. All other documents have been transcribed in full.

(001)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Dates: 14 October 1610 to 9 October 1611

Description: This is possibly the first recorded date of a document relating to the Lady Elizabeth's Men; it predates the licence granted on 27 April 1611 (ref 003). The entry in the record books of Bath gives a range of dates between 14 October 1610 and 9 October 1611 when the company received payment of 20s for a performance in the city.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

Inprimis to the ladye Elizabeth her players xx s...

Source: (Stokes and Alexander 1996, 21)

(002)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 11 April 1611

Description: This record from Canterbury predates the 27 April 1611 licence (ref 003) and shows that the mayor received a payment of 5s as reimbursement for an amount that he had paid to the Lady Elizabeth's Men for a performance.

Transcription:

1611-12

*City Chamberlains' Accounts*

the xj of aprill paid mr Colf mayor that he in my absence had  
geven to the lady Elizabeth hyr players

v s.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 260)

(003)

Document Type: Company Patent

Date(s): 27 April 1611

Description: John Townsend and Joseph Moore along with ‘the rest of their Company’ were granted a licence that allowed them to play at court, in London, and in the provinces.

Transcription:

D’licenc’ spial p

Iohe Townsend &

Iosepho Moore & al

James by the grace of god &c’ To all Iustices Maiors Sheriffs Bailiffs Constables  
hedborroughes and other our lovinge Subiects and officers greetinge knowe ye that wee  
of our especiall grace certayne knowledge and meere mocon have licenced and  
authorised and by these p’sente do licence and authorize Iohn Townsend and Joseph  
Moore sworne s’vantes to our deere daughter the ladie Elizabeth with the rest of their  
Companie to vse and exercise the Arte and qualitie of playinge Comedies histories  
Enterludes Morralls pastoralls stage playes and such other like as they haue alreadye  
studied or hereafter shall studie or vse aswell for the recreaçon of our lovinge Subiects  
as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them And the said  
enterludes or other to shewe and exercise publiquelye to their best coñmoditie in and  
about our Cittie of london in such vsuall howses as themselues shall p<ro>uide And  
alsoe within anie Towne halls mootehalles Guyldhalls Schoolehowses or other  
convenient places within the lib<er>tye and freedome of anie other Cittie vniu’sitie  
Towne or Burroughe whatsoever within our Realmes and Domynions willinge and  
comaundinge you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onlie to p<er>mitt  
and suffer them herein without any your letts hinderances molestacions or distubances  
during our said pleasure but alsoe to be ayding and assistinge vnto them if anie wronge  
be vnto them offred And to allowe them such former curtesies as hath byne given to  
men of their place and qualitie And alsoe what further fauour you shall shewe them for  
our sake wee shall take yt kindelye at your handes Prouided alwayes and our will and  
pleasure is that all authoritie power priueledge and p<ro>fitt whatsoever belonginge or  
properlye app<er>teyning to the maister of the Revells in respecte of his office and  
euerie Article and graunte conteyned within the letters Pattents or Comission which  
haue byne heretofore graunted or directed by the late queene Elizabeth our deere sister  
or by our selfe to our welbeloued Servants Edwarde Tylney Maister of the saide Revells  
or to Sir George Bucke knyghte or to eyther of them in possession or reuercon shall  
remayne and abide entire and in full force effecte and vertue and in as ample sorte as if  
this our Comission had neuer byne made In witnesse whereof &c’ witnesse our selfe at  
westm’ the seaven and Twentieth day of Aprill

p bre de priuato sigillo &c’.

Source: (Chambers and Greg 1909, 274–75)



(004)

Document Type: Financial Agreement

Date(s): 29 August 1611

Description: Philip Henslowe's records show a bond drawn up between John Townsend and Joseph Moore, the men named on the company's royal licence, and ten other players for an amount of £500. These twelve men are likely to be the initial members of the company which had been licensed just four months earlier. The original document still has some original seals for the players attached to it and the names of players are included in one single vertical list.

Transcription:

Noūint vniūsi [&c. Bond in £500, dated 29 Aug. 1611, from the signatories to Henslowe, signed:]

John Townsend:

John Rice

Will: Barksted

Robt Hamlen

Joseph Taylor

Will Carpenter

William Eccleston

Thomas Besse

Gilles Gary

Joseph Moore

Thomas Hunt

allexander foster

Sigill et deliber in pñtiā

Thome Mason scr

Ire Curial London

[on the back:]

The Condiçōn of this obligacōn is suche That if the w<sup>th</sup>in bound John Townsend William Barksted Joseph Tayler Giles Gary Robert Hamlyn Thomas Hunte Joseph Moore John Rice William Carpenter Thomas Basse and Allexander ffoster their executo<sup>r</sup>s admīstrato<sup>r</sup>s and assignes and eache and every of them doe for their and every of their p<ar>tes well and trulie hould observe paie p<er>fourme fulfill and kepe All and every the Covennte<s> graunte<s> articles paymente<s> and agreemente<s> w<sup>ch</sup> on their and each and every of their p<ar>te<s> are or ought to be houlden observed p<er>fourmed paid fulfilled & kepte mencōned and contayned in certen Articles indented bearinge the date w<sup>th</sup>in written made betweene the w<sup>th</sup>in named Phillipp Henslowe on thone p<ar>ty and the p<ar>ties aboue mencōned on thother p<ar>ty and that in and by all thinge<s> according to the tenor effect purport and true meaning of the same articles in every respect That then this pñte obligacōn to be void & of none effect Or elle<s> to remayne in full force & vertue

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 18–19; Mun. 47)

(005)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 8 September 1611 to 8 September 1612

Description: The Chamberlains' records for Dover show a gratuity made to the company. The same amount had been given to the Queen's players during this period. It is unclear as to whether or not the companies had been given leave to play.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item then paid which was geven for a gratuity to the lady Elizabeth  
her graces players by master maiors Comaundment

0 10 0

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 502)

(006)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Dates: 1 November 1611 to 31 October 1612

Description: Between these dates a payment of £4 was made to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by the mayor of Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewardesto Players

Gyven to the Lady Elizabeth her Players as appeareth by a bill  
vnder Maister Maiors hand

iiij li.

Gyven to the Lord Dudley his Players as appeareth by the same  
bill

vj s viij d.

Gyven to the Lord Mounteagles players as appeareth by a bill  
vnder Maister Maiors hand

vj s viij d.

Gyven to the Earle of Darbey his players as appeareth by the  
same bill

x s

Summa v li iij s iiij d

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 383–84)

(007)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 19 January 1612 and 11 March 1612

Description: Alexander Foster received payment on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's Men for court performances.

Transcription:

To the sayd Alexander Foster vpon the lyke warraunte dated at whithall prymo die April 1612 for himselfe and his fellowes for presenting twoe severall playes before the Prince<s> grace and the sayd Lady Eliz' viz' upon the xix<sup>th</sup> of Ianuar' last past and the other vpon the xj<sup>th</sup> of March at twenty nobles a play xiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 52; item 267b)

(008)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 26 February 1612

Description: The chamber accounts record payments made to players for royal court performances. *The Proud Maid* was first performed before the company's patron Lady Elizabeth Stuart on 26 February 1612. Alexander Foster, one of the men named in the Henslowe bond, collected payment on behalf of the company.

Transcription:

To Alexander Foster vpon lyke warraunte dated at whithall primo die April 1612 for himselfe and his fellowes the Lady Eliz' servaunte<s> and players for presanting one playe before his Ma<sup>ty</sup> on Shrovetuesday last at night called the proud Mayde viz' twenty Nobles and five Marke for Reward x<sup>li</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 52; item 267b)

(009)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 7 April 1612

Description: The Town Accounts of Faversham 1611-12 show a payment of 20s made to the Lady Elizabeth's Men amongst a list of payments to visiting playing companies.

Transcription:

*Town Accounts*

...		
24 february	payd too my lord beechumes sarvantes	x s.
...		
7 aprill	paid to my lady elizabethes sarvants	xx s.
...		
18 aprill	payd queene annes sarvantes	xx s.
...		

Source: (Gibson 2002, 567)

(010)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 13 August 1612

Description: The company presented a licence to the authorities at York. The company was given leave to perform but, as was common, restrictions were placed upon its activities and it was not permitted to play on the Sabbath nor in the evenings. The members of the council appear to have taken the licence requirement that they play in places 'as they shall procure' to heart as the record does not show any payment for performing in civic spaces, but simply allows them to play in the city.

Transcription:

*York Minster Fabric Rolls: House Books*

And wheras the Ladie Elizabeth Players daughter vnto the kinges most excellent Maiestie have brought with them his maiesties Commission for to be licensed to playe aswell in such howses or places as are appointed for them to play within London as in all moote halls skoolhowses towne halles within any other Citties or townes within his maiesties dominions. Whervpon it is thought good to permitt them to play within this

Cittie in such places as they shall procure or gett so as they do not play on the sabaoth daies or in the night tyme.

Source: (Johnston and Rogerson 1979, 538)

(011)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 8 September 1612 to 8 September 1613

Description: Payment received by the Lady Elizabeth's Men for a performance some time in Dover during the year to 8 September 1613.

Transcription:

Chamberlains' Accounts

*Item then ⁊<sup>r</sup>geven* [paid] to the Ladie Elizabeth her players 0 10 0

Source: (Gibson 2002, 504)

(012)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1612 to 28 September 1613

Description: The nature of bookkeeping means that we do not always have a precise date for payments or performances, although it is possible to place entries within a specific timespan. The town bailiffs' accounts for Shrewsbury show that the company received a payment during the year 1612 to 1613.

Transcription:

*Bailiffs' Accounts*

...

*paid which* was geven to Lady Elizabeth her players xx s.

Source: (Somerset 1994, 303)

(013)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1 November 1612 to 31 October 1613

Description: The records for Coventry also cover a period of time but there is no specific date reference for individual entries. The Lady Elizabeth's Men received a payment at Coventry which is listed amongst payments to other playing companies that had also appeared in Coventry during the year. This list shows that the company received significantly more remuneration than the other entertainers noted. Whether this is because of greater prestige attached to a royal company or simply that the company was in the city for a longer period is not ascertainable from this document alone.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewardesto Players

Given to the Queenes players as appeareth by a bill vnder *maister*

Maiors hand

xl s.

Given vnto Two of the Company of the Children of Revells as  
appeareth by another bill

xx s

Given to the Queenes or the Lady Elizabethes players as  
appeareth by another bill

iiij li.

Given to the Wayts of Worster and the Lord Willoughby by his men  
as appeareth by an other bill

iiij s

Given to the Lord of Huntington his Musissions as appeareth by  
an other bill vnder *maister* Maiors hand

v s.

Summa vij li. viij s.

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 386)

(014)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 26 December 1612 to 25 March 1613

Description: A similar record to the Coventry record above shows that a payment was made to the company at Bristol during a period of three months but does not specify the exact date of payment nor of performance.

Transcription:

*Mayor's Audits*

Item paide to the Lady Elizabeth players

ij li.

Source: (Pilkinton and Rogerstone 1997, 173)

(015)

Document Type: Financial Agreement

Date(s): 1613

Description: An agreement was made between Philip Henslowe and Jacob Meade as playhouse managers, and the player Nathan Field representing a company that appears to have been the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The original date of the document is no longer legible but the dating to some time in 1613, as given by W. W. Greg in his transcription, is convincing.

Transcription:

Articles of agreement made concluded and agreed vppon and w<sup>ch</sup> are on the p<ar>te and behalf of Phillipp Henslowe Esquier and Jacob Meade Waterman to be p<er>fourmed touchinge & concerninge the Company of players w<sup>ch</sup> they haue lately raised viz<sup>t</sup>

Imprimis the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade doe for them their execto<sup>rs</sup> and admīstrato<sup>rs</sup> Coveñnte promise and graunt by theis pñte<s> to and w<sup>th</sup> Nathan ffield gent That they the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade or one of them shall and will duringe the space of Three yeares at all tymes (when noe restraynte of playinge shalbe) at their or some of their owne prop<er> coste<s> and charges fynde and provide a sufficient howse or howses for the saide Company to play in And also shall and will at all tymes duringe the saide tearme disburse and lay out all suche soñe & soñes of monny as ffower or ffive Sharere<s> of the saide Company chosen by the saide Phillipp and Jacob shall thinck fittinge for the furnishinge of the said Company w<sup>th</sup> playinge apparrell towarde<s> the settinge out of their newe playes And further that the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall and will at all tymes duringe the saide tearme when the saide Company shall play in or neare the Cittie of London furnish the saide Company of players aswell w<sup>th</sup> suche stock of apparrell & other prop<er>ties as the said Phillipp Henslowe hath already bought As also w<sup>th</sup> suche other stock of apparrell as the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall hereafter provide and buy for the said Company duringe the saide tearme And further shall and will at suche tyme and tymes duringe the saide tearme as the saide Company of Players shall by meanes of any restraynte or sicknes goe into the Contrey deliuer and furnish the saide Company w<sup>th</sup>

fitting apparrell out of both the saide stocke<s> of apparrell And further the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade doe for them their executo<sup>r</sup>s and admīstrato<sup>r</sup>s coveñnte and graunt to and w<sup>th</sup> the saide Nathan ffeilde by theis pñte<s> in manner and fourme followinge that is to say That they the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade or one of them shall and will from tyme to tyme duringe the saide tearme disburse and lay out suche sōme or sōmes of monny as shalbe thought fittinge by ffower or ffive of the Sharere<s> of the saide Company to be chosen by the saide Phillipp & Jacob or one of them to be paide for any play w<sup>ch</sup> they shall buy or condicōn or agree for; Soe alwaies as the saide Company doe and shall truly repaye vnto the saide Phillipp and Jacob their exectutore<s> or assignes all suche sōme & sōmes of monny as they shall disburse for any play vppon the second or third daie wheron the same play shalbe plaide by the saide Company w<sup>th</sup>out fraude or longer delay And further that the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall and will at all tymes vppon request made by the Maior p<ar>te of the Sharers of the saide Company v[nder their] handes remove and putt out of the saide Company any of the saide Company of playere<s> if the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall fynde [the s]aide request to be iust and that ther be noe hope of conformety in the p<ar>tie complayned of And further that they the saide Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Mea[de shall] and [will] at all tymes vppon request made by the saide Company or the maior p<ar>te therof pay vnto them all suche somes of monny as shall cōme vnto their hande<s> v[ppon of] any forfeitures for rehearsalle<s> or suche like paymente<s> And also shall and will vppon the request of the said Company or the maior p<ar>te of the[m] sue [ ] ar[ ] p<er>sons by whom any forfeiture shalbe made as aforesaid and after or vppon the recovery and receipte th[er]of (their charges disbursed about the recovery [ ] b[einge first deducted and allowed) shall and will make satisfaccōn of the remaynder therof vnto the said Company w<sup>th</sup>out fraude or guile And [the]y the s[ai]de Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade ar[ ] g]raunte and agree that ther shalbe due accompte given Every night to any one that shall by the Company be appoynted ther vnto [ ] half of the galleries allo[w]ed towarde<s> the payment of the s[ ] hundred t[w]enty & fower pounde<s> [abouementioned] [ ] and also any w[ ] to be dis[ ] a]fore said by the said Phillipp and Jacob [ ] fully paid The [ ] Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall [ ] Compa[n]y [ ] devided acco[r]ding to their se[ ] y]eouen the [ ]

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 23–5; Mun. 52)

(016)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 1613



Description: Nathan Field wrote *Amends for Ladies* in 1611. Correspondence between Field and Philip Henslowe shows that he also wrote in collaboration with Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger to provide plays for one of Henslowe's companies; the existence of the management agreement (ref 015) between Field and Henslowe around this time suggests strongly that the company must have been the Lady Elizabeth's Players. This letter also confirms that Field was playing for the company at the time as suggested by the line in *Bartholomew Fair* (see ref 176).

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow

you vnderstand o<sup>r</sup> vnfortunate extremitie and J doe not thincke you so void of christianitie, but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you; rather then endanger so many innocent liues; you know there is x<sup>l</sup>. more at least to be receaued of you, for the play, wee desire you to lend vs v<sup>l</sup>. of that, w<sup>ch</sup> shall be allowed to you w<sup>thout</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> wee cannot be bayled, nor J play any more till this be dispatch'd, it will loose you xx<sup>l</sup>. ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hinderance of the next new play, pray S<sup>r</sup>. Consider our Cases w<sup>th</sup> humanitie, and now giue vs cause to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede; wee haue entreated M<sup>r</sup>. Dauison to deliver this note, as well to wittnesse yo<sup>r</sup> loue, as o<sup>r</sup> promises, and allwayes acknowledgment to be euer

yo<sup>r</sup> most thanckfull; and louing friends,

Nat: Field

The mony shall be abated out of the mony remayns for the play of m<sup>r</sup> ffletcher & owrs

Rob: Daborne

J have ever founde yow a true lovinge freind to mee & in soe small a suite it beeing honest J hope yow will note faile vs.

Philip massinger

To our most louing frend M<sup>r</sup> Phillip Hinchlow, Esquire these.

[with acquittance in Davison's hand:]

Rec<sup>d</sup> by mee Robert Dauison of m<sup>r</sup> Hinshloe for y<sup>e</sup> vse of m<sup>r</sup> Dauboern m<sup>r</sup> ffeeld m<sup>r</sup> messenger the some of v<sup>l</sup>.

Robert Dauison

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 65–7; Art. 68)

(017)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 1613 undated

Description: The letters between Nathan Field and Philip Henslowe show some of the workings of an active commercial playing company, and also show the relationship between Henslowe and those supported by him. In these letters Field is asking for an additional loan from Henslowe and promises not to take any of the 'share' due to him for performance until the loan has been cleared. This confirms that Field was in fact a sharer in the company for which he was writing and performing. This letter and the following one (ref 018) are both undated but are reproduced here in line with the dating and ordering of W. W. Greg in his transcription of the papers of the Henslowe archive.

Transcription:

Father Hinchlow

J am vnluckily taken on an execution of 30<sup>l</sup>. J Can be discharg'd for xx<sup>l</sup>, x<sup>l</sup> J haue from a freind, if now in my extremity you will venture x<sup>l</sup> more for my liberty, J will neuer share penny till you haue it againe, and make any satisfaction by writing, or otherwise y<sup>t</sup> you Can deuise, J am loath to importune because J know yo<sup>r</sup> disbursments are great nor must any know J send to you for then my Creditor will not free me, but for the whole some; J pray speedily Consider my occasion, for if J be putt to vse other meanes, J hope all men, and yo<sup>r</sup> selfe w[i]ll excuse me, if (inforcedly) J Cannot prooue so honest, as towards you, J euer resolu'd to be

yo<sup>r</sup> loving son Nat: Field

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 67; Art. 69)

(018)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 1613 undated

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne asking for money for a play. In a postscript the letter mentions the play *Eastward Ho*.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J did think I deservd as much mony as m<sup>r</sup> messenger although knowinge y<sup>r</sup> great disbursements J forboure to vrdge y<sup>u</sup> beyond y<sup>r</sup> own pleasure, but my occations press me so neerly y<sup>t</sup> I cannot but expect this reasonable curtesy consydering J pay y<sup>u</sup> half my

earnings in the play besyds my continuall labor & chardge imployd only for y<sup>u</sup> which if it prove not proffitable now y<sup>u</sup> shall see J will giv y<sup>u</sup> honnest satisfaction for the vtmost farthinge J owe yow & take another course, whearfore this being my last J beseech y<sup>u</sup> way my great occation this once and make vp my money even w<sup>th</sup> m<sup>r</sup> messengers which is to let me have x<sup>s</sup> more J am sure J shall deserv it & y<sup>u</sup> can never doe me a tymelyer curtesy resting

at y<sup>r</sup> co<sup>m</sup>maund

Rob: Daborne

J pray s<sup>r</sup> let y<sup>e</sup> boy giv order this night to the stage keep to set vp bills agst munday for Eastward hoe & one wendsday the New play /

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 70–1; Art. 76)

(019)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 25 February 1613 and 1 March 1613

Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men gave performances at court of *The Dutch Coutersan* (referred to by its popular name of Cockledemoy) and *Raymond Duke of Lyons* in the celebratory period following the marriage of the company's patron to Frederick, Elector Palatine on 14 February 1613. Payments were received by Joseph Taylor, who like Alexander Foster, the previous recorded payee, was one of the players included in the bond with Henslowe (ref 004).

Transcription:

Itm̄ paid to Ioseph Taylor vppon the Cowncells warr' dated att Whitehall xxviii<sup>o</sup> Die Iunij 1613 for him self and the rest of his Company the La: Elizabeth her graces servauntes and players for presentinge before the Princes Highnes, Cownte Pallatyne Elector, and the La: Elizabeth two severall playes viz' one playe called Cockle de Moye, on the xxv<sup>th</sup> of Febr: last and one other called Raymond Duke of Lyons on the first of March followinge the some of  
xiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 55; item 47a)

(020)

Document Type: Financial Agreement for a New Play

Date(s): 17 April 1613

Description: Robert Daborne, who had previously written with Nathan Field for the Lady Elizabeth's Men, continued to work for Henslowe, often in collaboration with others. The Henslowe archive contains many letters from Daborne asking for payment, or advances for payment, for specific plays which, given the links between Daborne, Henslowe and the company can be assigned to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. An agreement dated 17 April 1613 between Robert Daborne and Philip Henslowe shows the commissioning and negotiation of terms between the writer and the manager of the company for a new play. This particular agreement shows the play *Machiavel and the Devil* being forwarded to Henslowe in stages, and the writer receiving payment as each stage is completed.

Transcription:

Memorandum tis agreed between phillip hinchlow Esq & Robert daborn gent, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> sd Robert shall before y<sup>e</sup> end of this Easter Term deliver in his Tragoedy cald matchavill & y<sup>e</sup> divill into y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> sd phillip for y<sup>e</sup> sum of xx<sup>ty</sup> pounds, six pounds whearof y<sup>e</sup> sd Robert aknowledgeth to hav receaved in earnest of y<sup>e</sup> sayd play this 17<sup>th</sup> of Aprill & must hav other four pound vpon delivery in of 3 acts, & other ten pound vpon delivery in of y<sup>e</sup> last scean p<er>fited. Jn witness hearof the sd Robert daborn hearvnto hath set his hand this 17<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1613

P<er> me Rob: Daborne

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 67; Art. 70)

(021)

Document Type: Legal Bond

Date(s): 17 April 1613

Description: The agreement above for *Machiavel and the Devil* (ref 020) was further witnessed by a legal bond between the two men also dated 17 April 1613.

Transcription:

Noverint vniu<sup>r</sup>si

Robert Daborne

Sigillat et delibit  
ad usu dict phillipi  
Henslow in pñtia mei  
Edwardi Griffin Scr.

[on the back]

The Condiçōn of this obligacōn ys suche That if the w<sup>th</sup>in bounde Robert daborne his executors or assignes doe deliuer vnto the w<sup>th</sup>in named Phillipe henslowe his executors or assignes one playe called Machivell and the divell vppon or before the last daie of Easter terme now next ensuinge the daie of the date of theise p̄tes w<sup>th</sup>in written, accordinge to a memoraindū or note made vnder the hande of the saide Robert daborne of the daie of the date of theise p̄te<s> w<sup>th</sup>in written, without fraude or Coven, That then this p<sup>r</sup>sent obligacōn to be voyde and of none effect, Or els to stande and be in full force and virtue.

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 68; Art. 71)

(022)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 19 April 1613

Description: After the wedding of the Lady Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine, a payment to the Lady Elizabeth's Men was recorded in the Chamberlains' Accounts of Norwich indicating that the company had returned to the city following the nuptial celebrations.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item the second of Aprill 1613 for certen Banquettinge stuffe *which*  
was for the *Lord* Everes As by warrant

xxix s vj d

...

Item to the Lady Elizabeth hir Players the xix<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1613

As by warrant

xl s

Item to the Lord Evers his Players the xx<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1613 by warrant

xx s...

Source: (Galloway 1984, 138)

(023)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 22 April 1613

Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men seems to have followed its patron and new husband Frederick, Elector Palatine, as they journeyed through Kent on their way to

meet shipping that would take them across the English Channel on their way to Heidelberg. The payments recorded at Canterbury show that much of the court and entourage were travelling with the Lady Elizabeth, and shows the extent of preparations that were made for their entertainment and comfort.

Transcription:

*City Chamberlains' Accounts*

April 1613

paid more the xij<sup>th</sup> daye of Aprill 1613 agayne to wilson for velumes for heddyng the best drome that was brok at babes hill comaunded to be newe

amended against *commyn*g of the Palsgrave & prynces iiij s.

...

paid the xvj of Aprill 1613 ij s. iij. d. for wyne when *master* mayer mr yong

the prynces gentleman <sup>^</sup>r<sup>v</sup>sher<sup>^</sup> and one <sup>^</sup>r<sup>m</sup>r Grym one<sup>^</sup> of his comissioners and of the kynges trumpettes wer *present* at <sup>^</sup>r<sup>m</sup>r<sup>^</sup> lockles ij s. iij d.

...

paid tewsday the xx<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1613 that mornyng prynce charles went awaye hens from Caunterbury toward london for bred bere & wyne at the lyonxiiij d. paid & geven to ffenner Iester to the lady Elizabeth the xx<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1613 toward losse o

...

paid to whit the bell rynger of chrystchuche [from] <sup>^</sup>r<sup>f</sup>or<sup>^</sup> brynging from Christ church home to the Courthall a pyke and ancient of the Cyties, that was lent vppon request of the vycedeane & *prebendaries* to hang out of the topp of bellharry steple to knowe when the wynd dyd shyft well/for the palsgrave and the lady Elizabeth his wyf myght take shyping at Margate vj d.

paid to Georg Bailes for a drom Cord for the great dromm the last of aprill 1613 xviiij d.

paid v s. to the fyve waytes playing the lowd musycke on the topp of all Saintes church in the highe streate at the *commyn*g into the Cytie [coming in] at westgate of the prynce the lady Elizabeth his syster and the pallsgrave hyr husbond v s.

+ At this tyme they were receyved at westgate by <sup>^</sup>r<sup>f</sup>the mayor<sup>^</sup> all the <sup>^</sup>r<sup>f</sup>[Mayor]<sup>^</sup> aldermen and comon counsell (the <sup>^</sup>r<sup>f</sup>mayor &<sup>^</sup> aldermen in ther Scarlett and comons in ther best attyre, when the prynce was *presented* with a fayer great silver [Cub] Cupp, all gylt, and the palsgrave & his wyf the lyke, of seuerall makynge or fassions, when mr mathewe hadd then recorder made vppon delyuery of the *presentes* 2: seuerall oracions <sup>^</sup>r<sup>f</sup>or speches<sup>^</sup> fyrst to the prynce and his sister the lady Elizabeth sytting in one Coche and an other oracion to the palsgrave and the duke sytting in an other coche *with* all the shott to the number of lxxx

but with holberdes & partysayns in ther redd soldiers Coats ʃnewe hattes  
& fethersʃ half ʃon theʃ one side the streat & ^ʃotherʃ half on the other so  
gardyng them ffrom westgate to the further gate of chryst church, wher  
they went in to the deanes howse for the Court ther to be for ʃtherʃ abod  
for the prynce ʃ& dukeʃ and docter fotherbe his howse for the palsgrave  
& his ladye princes Elizabeth beyng in the church ^ʃall fullʃ [all the shott  
at ons gave them a gallant <...>] of wellcvm  
ther they contynewed ix daies

Source: (Gibson 2002, 261–62)

(024)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 28 April 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

Good m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow I am vpon y<sup>e</sup> sodeyn put to a great extremity in bayling my man  
comitted to newgate vpon taking a possession for me, & J took less money of my  
kinsman a lawier y<sup>t</sup> was w<sup>th</sup> me then servd my turn J am thearfor to beseech y<sup>u</sup> to spare  
me xx<sup>s</sup> which will doe me so great pleasure y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> shall find me thankfull &  
p<er>forming more than ever J promisd or am tyed to so bold vpon so great an  
occation to truble y<sup>u</sup> J crave y<sup>r</sup> favorable interpretation & rest

25 Aprill

1613

ever at y<sup>r</sup> cōmaund

Rob: Daborne

[note in Henlowe's hand]

Lente m<sup>r</sup> daborne this money

wittnes

Hugh Attwell

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 68; Art. 72)

(025)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 3 May 1613

Description: Despite there being a legal obligation on Daborne to deliver the play to Henslowe, and a schedule of delivery agreed, he asked Henslowe for an additional advance. This was an often repeated pattern as the many letters from Daborne testify.

Transcription:

m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlaw J am inforced to make bold with y<sup>u</sup> for one 20<sup>s</sup> more of y<sup>e</sup> x<sup>l</sup> & one ffryday night J will deliver in y<sup>e</sup> 3 acts fayr written and then receav y<sup>e</sup> other 40<sup>s</sup> & if y<sup>u</sup> please to have some papers now y<sup>u</sup> shall but my promise shall be as good as bond to y<sup>u</sup> & if y<sup>u</sup> will let me have p<sup><er></sup>vsall of any other book of y<sup>rs</sup> J will after ffryday intend it speedly & doubt not to giv y<sup>u</sup> full content so w<sup>th</sup> my best remembranc J rest

3 May

at y<sup>r</sup> co<sup>m</sup>aund

1613

Rob: Daborne

[note in a different hand:]

R/d the so<sup>m</sup>e of xx<sup>s</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Hinchley to the vse of m<sup>r</sup> daborne the 3 of Maye 1613 by me Thomas Moro

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 69; Art. 73)

(026)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 8 May 1613

Description: The letters from Daborne demonstrate that plays were sometimes delivered in parts. In this letter Daborne claims that he will be ready to read to Alleyn the completed parts of the play. The letter also suggests that the playing company did not always receive a fully-completed work when it initially studied a play.

Transcription:

m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow my trubles drawing to some end have forced me to be trublesom to y<sup>u</sup> beyond my purpose bycause J would be free at any rate some papers J have sent y<sup>u</sup> though not so fayr written all as J could wish; J will now wholly intend to finishe my promise which though it come not w<sup>th</sup>in compass of this Term shall come vpon y<sup>e</sup> neck of this new play they ar now studi<sup>j</sup>nge, my request is the x<sup>l</sup> might be made vp whear of J have had 9<sup>l</sup> if y<sup>u</sup> please to appoynt any howr to read to m<sup>r</sup> Allin J will not fayle, nor after this day loose any time till it be concluded; my best remembranc to y<sup>u</sup> J rest

8 May

y<sup>rs</sup>

1613

Rob: Daborne



[note in another hand]  
R/d the some of xx<sup>s</sup> of m<sup>r</sup> }  
Hinchlowe, to the vse of m<sup>r</sup> } xx<sup>s</sup>  
Daborne 8<sup>o</sup> Maij pd  
Tho: Moro

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 69–70; Art. 74)

(027)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 16 May 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow, yr tried curtesy hath so far ingaged me y<sup>t</sup> howsoever this term hath much hindred my busines, y<sup>u</sup> shall see one Tuesday night J have not bin Jdle, J thank god moste of my trubles ar ended vpon cleering wherof J have taken home my wife agayne soe y<sup>t</sup> J will now after munday intend y<sup>r</sup> busines carefully y<sup>t</sup> the company shall acknowledg themselves bound to y<sup>u</sup> J doubt not one Tuesday night if y<sup>u</sup> will appoynt J will meet y<sup>u</sup> & m<sup>r</sup> Allin & read some for J am vnwilling to read to y<sup>e</sup> generall company till all be finisht which vpon my credit shall be to play it this next Term w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ffirst; S<sup>r</sup> my occations of expenc have bin soe great & soe many J am ashamed to think how much J am forct to press y<sup>u</sup> whearin J pray let me finde y<sup>r</sup> favorablest construction, & ad one xx<sup>s</sup> more to y<sup>e</sup> mony J have receaved which maks xi<sup>l</sup>. and y<sup>u</sup> shall one Tuesday see J will deserv to my best ability y<sup>r</sup> love which J valew more in it self then y<sup>e</sup> best companies in y<sup>e</sup> town, so my self & labors resting at y<sup>r</sup> service J comit y<sup>u</sup> to god  
16 May y<sup>rs</sup> to comand  
1613 Rob: Daborne

[note in another hand:]  
Receued by m<sup>r</sup> Garrett Leniaghe . . . . xx<sup>s</sup>

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 70; Art. 75)

(028)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 19 May 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne acknowledging receipt of payment for delivery of *Machiavel and the Devil*.

Transcription:

Mem J have receavd of m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlaw the full so<sup>m</sup> of sixteen pounds in p<sup><ar>t</sup> of twenty pounds due to me Robert daborne for my Tragoedy of matchavill & y<sup>e</sup> divill J say receaved sixteen pounds this 19<sup>th</sup> of may as aforesayd Jn witnes wherof J hearvnto hav sett my hand 1613 /

Rob: Daborne

This play to be delivered in to m<sup>r</sup> hinchlaw w<sup>th</sup> all speed  
John Alleyn

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 71; Art. 77)

(029)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 5 June 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne. The letter shows once again the practice of co-writing in operation as Daborne had handed an act of *The Arraignement of London* over to Cyril Tourneur to speed up the writing process.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow, the company told me y<sup>u</sup> wear expected thear yesterday to conclude about thear co<sup>m</sup>ing over or goinge to Oxford, J have not only labord my own play which shall be ready before they come over but given Cyrill Tourneur an act of y<sup>e</sup> Arreignment of london to write y<sup>t</sup> we may have y<sup>t</sup> likewise ready for them, J wish y<sup>u</sup> had spoken w<sup>th</sup> them to know thear resolution for they depend vpon y<sup>r</sup> purpose, J hav sent y<sup>u</sup> 2 sheets more fayr written vpon my ffayth s<sup>r</sup> they shall not stay one howr for me, whearfor J beseech y<sup>u</sup> as heatherto so y<sup>u</sup> would now spare me 40<sup>s</sup> which stands me vpon to send over to my counsell in a matter concerns my whole estate & wher J deale otherways then to y<sup>r</sup> content may J & myne want ffryndship in distress so relijng one y<sup>r</sup> favor which shall never reap loss by me J rest

5<sup>o</sup> June  
1613

at y<sup>r</sup> co<sup>m</sup>aund  
Rob: Daborne

[note in another hand:]

Receued by me Garred leniaghe

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 71–2; Art. 78)

(030)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 6 June 1613

Description: Payment at Faversham, Kent.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item to the Queenes plaiers the xv<sup>th</sup> of Aprill x s.

...

Item the vj<sup>th</sup> of Iune to the Ladie Elizabeths plaiers x s.

...

Item paid the kings Beryers

...

vj s. viij d.

Source: (Gibson 2002, 568)

(031)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 10 June 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J expected y<sup>u</sup> one munday I p<sup><er></sup>ceav y<sup>u</sup> misdoubt my readynes ; s<sup>r</sup> J would not be hyred to break my ffayth w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup>, Before god they shall not stay one hour for me for J can this week deliver in y<sup>e</sup> last word & will y<sup>t</sup> night they play thear new play read this ; whearof J have sent y<sup>u</sup> a sheet & more fayr written y<sup>u</sup> may easily know thear is not much behind & J intend no other thing god is my judg till this be finisht ; y<sup>e</sup> necessity of term busines exacts me beyond my custom to be trublesome vnto y<sup>u</sup> whearfore J pray send me y<sup>e</sup> other 20<sup>s</sup> J desyred & then when J read next week J will take y<sup>e</sup> 40<sup>s</sup> y<sup>t</sup>

remayns & doubt not y<sup>u</sup> shall receav thanks in doing me this curtesy so presuming one  
y<sup>r</sup> favour J rest

10 June 1613

y<sup>rs</sup> to comāund  
Rob: Daborne

[endorsed in Henslowe's hand:]

Lent vpon this notte xx<sup>s</sup> wittness m<sup>r</sup> greffen & moysses bowler at m<sup>r</sup> dabbornes howsse

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 72–3; Art 79)

(032)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 18 June 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J sat up last night till past 12 to write out this sheet & had not necessity inforct me to  
y<sup>e</sup> comōn place bar this morning to acknowledg a ffynall recovery J would this day hav  
delivered in all J hav bin heartofor of y<sup>e</sup> receaving hand y<sup>u</sup> shall now find return to y<sup>r</sup>  
content & y<sup>t</sup> speedly J pray s<sup>r</sup> let me have 40<sup>s</sup> in earnest of y<sup>e</sup> Arreighnment & one  
munday night J will meet y<sup>u</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> new play & conclud farther to y<sup>r</sup> content J doubt not  
resting my self & whole Jndevors  
18 June 1613

wholy at yr service  
Rob: Daborne

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 73; Art. 80)

(033)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 23 June 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne. W.W Greg suggests that  
the tragedie talked about must be *Machiavel and the Devil* (Henslowe 1907, 73).

Transcription:

m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow J p<er>ceave y<sup>u</sup> think J will be behind w<sup>th</sup> my Tragoedy if soe y<sup>u</sup> might  
worthely account me dishonest, indeed for thear good & myn own J have took  
extraordynary payns w<sup>th</sup> the end & altered one other scean in the third act which they  
have now in parts, for y<sup>e</sup> Arreighnment if y<sup>u</sup> will please to be my paym<sup>r</sup> as for the other,  
they shall have it, if not, try my Tragoedy first & as y<sup>t</sup> proves so deal w<sup>th</sup> me, in the  
mean my necessity is such y<sup>t</sup> J must vse other means to be furnisht vpon it; Before god J  
can have 25<sup>l</sup> for it as some of y<sup>e</sup> company know, but such is my much debt to y<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> so  
long as my labors may pleasure them & y<sup>u</sup> say y<sup>e</sup> word J am wholly y<sup>rs</sup> to be  
ever comāunded  
Rob: Daborne

J pray s<sup>r</sup> if y<sup>u</sup> resolv to do this curtesy for y<sup>e</sup> company, let me hav 40<sup>s</sup> more till we seale,  
25 June 1613  
[note in the hand of Moses Bowler:]  
pade to m<sup>r</sup> Daborne xx<sup>s</sup>  
[endorsed in Henslowe's hand:]  
m<sup>r</sup> dabbornes notes

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 73–4; Art. 81)

(034)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 28 June 1613

Description: This an additional record of the payment above (ref 019). The record  
comes from the Pipe Office declared accounts which form a final record of court  
payments after they have been documented and audited.

Transcription:

*Pipe Office Declared Accounts*

To Iospehe Taylor vpon the Councells warrante dated the  
xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1613 for himself and his fellowes the Ladie  
Elizabeth her servantes for presenting two playes before the  
Prynce the Counte Palatyne and the Ladie Elizabeth

xiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 55; item 14a)

(035)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): June 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Nathan Field. This particular letter strengthens the claim that Daborne and Field were writing collaboratively for one particular company. It also suggests that Field had a stronger connection, and loyalty to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as Daborne is prepared to let the play go to another company. Field implores Henslowe to provide £10 to assure that the play is kept for the company. The dating of this letter is imprecise but its temporal placement here follows that of W. W. Greg's placement as the end of June 1613.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow

M<sup>r</sup>. Dawborne and J, haue spent a great deale of time in conference about this plott, w<sup>ch</sup> will make as beneficiall a play as hath Come these seauen yeares, It is out of his loue he detaines it for vs, onely x<sup>l</sup>. is desir'd in hand, for w<sup>ch</sup>, wee will be bound to bring you in the play finish'd vpon the first day of August; wee would not loose it, wee haue so assured a hope of it, and, on my knowledge M<sup>r</sup>. Dauborne may haue his request of another Companie ; pray let vs haue speedie answere, and effectuall, you know, the last money you disburs't was iustly pay'd in, and wee are now in a way to pay you all so, vnlesse yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, for want of small supplie, will put vs out of it, againe, pray let vs know when wee shall speake w<sup>h</sup> you ; Till when and Euer J rest

yo<sup>r</sup> louing and obedient Son: Nat: Field

[unfinished address:]

To his louing

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 84; Art. 100)

(036)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 4 July 1613

Description: The players of the Lady Elizabeth's Men appear to have been involved in an altercation in Canterbury as Edward Foster has been identified as the keeper of the gaol at the Westgate of the city of Canterbury. The record indicates the continued presence of the players in Kent.

Transcription:

*City Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

paid the iiij<sup>th</sup> of Iulie 1613 to the lady Elizabeth hyr pleyers who ʔby *master* mayer ʔwer  
sent and brothe vnto me from *Maister* Mayor by edward foster keper x s.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 262)

(037)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 10 July 1613

Description: A payment made by town authorities in Dover confirms that the company continued to operate in the county around the dates of the Lady Elizabeth's travels in Kent.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item then ^ʔgevenʔ [paid] to the Ladie Elizabeth her players 0 10 0

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 504)

(038)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 16 July 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow of all ffryndship let me be beholding to y<sup>u</sup> for one xx<sup>s</sup> which shall be the  
last J will request till the play be fully by vs ended Vpon my honnest ffayth w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup>  
which J will never break J will request no more & soe much will be due to me then S<sup>r</sup>

this is my last request of y<sup>r</sup> trouble which my speedy occation presses me to soe J rely  
vpon y<sup>r</sup> lov hearin for which y<sup>u</sup> shall ever

16 July

comand me

1613

Rob: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand:]

dd this xx<sup>s</sup> the 16 of July 1613

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 74; Art. 82)

(039)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 30 July 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow J wrote a leter to m<sup>r</sup> griffyn requestinge thearin y<sup>r</sup> awnswer & end to those  
businesses & debts betwixt vs but J cannot hear from him my desyre was y<sup>t</sup> eather y<sup>u</sup>  
would be my paymayster for another play or take x<sup>l</sup> of y<sup>t</sup> mony we hav had into y<sup>r</sup> hands  
agayne & security for the rest, s<sup>r</sup> it is not vnknown to y<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> J could & had good  
certeynty of means before J wrote vnto y<sup>u</sup> which vpon hopes of y<sup>r</sup> love J forsooke and  
must now if y<sup>u</sup> & J had ended return to them agayne, for my occations vntill J have  
made sale of y<sup>t</sup> estate J have ar soe vrgent y<sup>t</sup> J can forbear no longer, whearfor I pray S<sup>r</sup>  
of y<sup>r</sup> much ffryndship doe me one curtesy more till Thursday when we deliver in o<sup>r</sup> play  
to y<sup>u</sup> as to lend me twenty shillings & vpon my ffayth and Christianyty J will then or giv  
y<sup>u</sup> content or secure y<sup>u</sup> to the vtmost farthing y<sup>u</sup> can desyre of me, s<sup>r</sup> J pray of all y<sup>r</sup>  
gentlenes deny not this curtesy to me & if y<sup>u</sup> fynd me not most iust & honnest to y<sup>u</sup> may  
J want a frynd in my extremyty it is but till thursday J request y<sup>u</sup> hearin & so rest

at y<sup>r</sup> co<sup>m</sup>aund

Rob: Daborne

Sr y<sup>u</sup> hav a receipt of myne for twenty shillings which J sent y<sup>u</sup> by the waterman at the  
cardinalls hatt that or this shall sufficiently giv y<sup>u</sup> assurance /

30 July 1613

[autograph note:]

witnes Moyses Bowler

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 74–5; Art. 83)



(040)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 23 August 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow J hav ever sinc J saw y<sup>u</sup> kept my bed being so lame that J cannot stand J pray s<sup>r</sup> goe forward w<sup>th</sup> that reasonable bargayn for the Bellman we will hav but twelv powns and the overplus of the second day whearof J hav had ten shillings and desyer but twenty shillings more till y<sup>u</sup> hav 3 sheets of my papers, good s<sup>r</sup> consyder how for yo<sup>r</sup> sake J hav put my self out of the assured way to get mony and from twenty pownd a play am come to twelv thearfor in my extremity forsake me not as y<sup>u</sup> shall ever co<sup>m</sup>and me my wif can aquaynt y<sup>u</sup> how infinit great my occation is and this shall be sufficient for the receipt till J come to set my hand to yo<sup>r</sup> booke

23 Aug  
1613.

y<sup>rs</sup> at co<sup>m</sup>and  
Rob: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand]

Lent m<sup>r</sup> daborne vpon this not the 23 aguste in earneste of a playe called the bellman of London . . . xx<sup>s</sup>

[endorsed in another hand:]

Players private debts

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 75–6; Art. 84)

(041)

Document Type: Contract

Date(s): 29 August 1613

Description: Contract between Philip Henslowe and Jacob Meade with Gilbert Katherens to redevelop the Bear Gardens.

Transcription:

Articles Covenantes grauntes and agremente<s> Concluded and agreed vpon this Nyne and Twenteithe daie of Auguste Anno Dñi 1613 / Betwene Phillipe Henslowe of the p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Savio<sup>r</sup> in sowthworke w<sup>th</sup> in the coūtye of Surr · Esquire, and Jacobe Maide of the p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Olaves in sowthworke aforesaide waterman of thone

p<ar>tie, And Gilbert Katherens of the saide p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Saviour in sowthworke  
Carpenter on thother p<ar>tie, As followeth That is to saie

Inprimis the saide Gilbert Katherens for him, his executo<sup>rs</sup> administrato<sup>rs</sup> and assignes  
dothe convenaunt p<ro>mise and graunt to and w<sup>th</sup> the saide Phillipe Henslowe and  
Jacobe Maide and either of them, the executors administrato<sup>rs</sup> & assigns of them and  
either of them by theise p<sup>n</sup>tes in manner and forme followinge That he the saied Gilbert  
Katherens his executo<sup>rs</sup> administrato<sup>rs</sup> or assignes shall and will at his or their owne  
proper costes and charges vppon or before the last daie of November next ensuinge the  
daie of the date of the date of theise p<sup>n</sup>tes above written, not onlie take downe or pull  
downe all that Same place or house wherin Beares and Bulls haue been heretofore  
vsuallie bayted, And also one other house or staple wherin Bulls and horsses did  
vsuallie stande, Sett lyinge and beinge vppon or neere the Banksyde in the saide  
p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Saviour in sowthworke Comonlie Called or knowne by the name of the  
Beare Garden / But shall also at his or their owne proper coste<s> and Charges vppon  
or before the saide laste daie of November newly erect, builde and sett vpp one other  
Same place or Plaiehouse fitt & convenient in all thinges, bothe for players to playe In,  
And for the game of Beares and Bulls to be bayted in the same, And also A fitt and  
convenient Tyre house and a stage to be carryed or taken awaie, and to stande vppon  
tressells good substanciall and sufficient for the carryinge and bearinge of suche a stage,  
And shall new builde erect and sett vp againe the saide plaie house or game place neere  
or vppon the saide place, where the saide game place did heretofore stande, And to  
builde the same of suche large compasse, fforme, widenes, and height as the Plaie house  
Called the Swan in the libertie of Parris garden in the saide p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Saviour,  
now is / And shall also builde two stearecasses w<sup>th</sup>out and adioyninge to the saide Playe  
house in suche convenient places as shalbe moste fitt and convenient for the same to  
stande vppon, and of such largnes and height as the stearecasses of the saide playehouse  
called the Swan, nowe are or bee / And shall also builde the Heavens all over the saide  
stage to be borne or carried w<sup>th</sup>out any postes or supporters to be fixed or sett vppon the  
saide stage, And all gutters of leade needfull for the carryage of all suche Raine water as  
shall fall vppon the same, And shall also make Two Boxes in the lowermost storie fitt  
and decent for gentlemen to sitt in / And shall make the p<ar>ticōns betwne the  
Rommes as they are at the saide Plaie house called the Swan / And to make Turned  
Cullumes vppon and over the stage / And shall make the Principalls and fore fronte of  
the saide Plaie house of good and sufficient oken Tymber, And no furr tymber to be putt  
or used in the lower most, or midell stories, excepte the vp<sup>r</sup>ight postes on the backparte  
of the saide stories (All the Byndinge Joystes to be of oaken tymber) The Inner  
principall postes of the first storie to be Twelve footes in height and Tenn ynches  
square, the Inner principall postes in the midell storie to be Eight ynches square The  
Inner most postes in the vpper storie to be seaven ynches square / The Prick postes in  
the first storie to be eight ynches square, in the seconde storie seaven ynches square, and  
in the vpper most storie six ynches square / Also the Brest sommers in the lower moste  
storie to be nyne ynches depe, and seaven ynches in thicknes and in the midell storie to

be eight ynches depe and six ynches in thicknes / The Byndinge Jostes of the firste storie to be nyne and Eight ynches in depthe and thicknes and in the midell storie to be viij and vij ynches in depthe and thicknes / ITEM to make a good, sure, and sufficient foundacōn of Brickes the the saide Play house or game place and to make it siiij<sup>teene</sup> ynches at the leaste above the grounde ITEM to the new builde, erect, and sett vpp the saide Bull house and stable w<sup>th</sup> good and sufficient scantlinge tymber planks and bordes and p<ar>ticōns of that largnes and fittnes as shalbe suffcent to kepe and holde six bulls and Three horssees or geldinges, w<sup>th</sup> Rackes and mangers to the same, And also a lofte or storie over the saide house as nowe it is / AND shall also at his & their owne prop<er> coste<s> and charges new tyle w<sup>th</sup> Englishe tyles all the vpper Rooffe of the saide Plaie house game place and Bull house or stable, And shall fynde and paie for at his like proper costes and charges for all the lyme, heare, sande, Brickes, tyles, lathes nayles, workemanshipe and all other thinges needfull and necessarie for the full finishinge of the saide Plaie house Bull house and stable / And the saide Plaiehouse or game place to be made in althinges and in suche forme and fashion, as the saide plaie house called the swan (the scantling of the tymbers, tyles, and foundacōn as ys aforesaide w<sup>th</sup>out fraude or coven) AND THE SAIDE Phillipe Henslow and Jacobe maide and either of them for them, theexecutors administrato<sup>r</sup>s and assignes of them and either of them doe covenant and graunt to and w<sup>th</sup> the saide Gilbert Katherens his executo<sup>r</sup>s administrato<sup>r</sup>s and assignes in mann<sup>r</sup> and forme followinge (That is to saie) That he the saide Gilbert or his assignes shall or maie haue, and take to his or their vse and behoofe not onlie all the tymber benches seates, slates, tyles Brickes and all other thinges belonginge to the saide Game place & Bull house or stable, And also all suche olde tymber whiche the saide Phillipe Henslow hathelatelie bought beinge of an old house in Thames street, London, whereof moste parte is now lyinge in the Yarde or Backsyde of the saide Bearegarden AND also to satisfie and paie vnto the saide Gilbert Katherens his executors administrato<sup>r</sup>s or assignes for the doinge and finishinges of the Workes and buildinges aforesaid the somme of Three Hundered and three score poundes of good and lawffull monie of England in mann<sup>r</sup> and forme following (That is to saie) Jn hande at thensealinge and deliury hereof Three score poundes w<sup>ch</sup> the saide Gilbert acknowledge himselfe by theise pñtes to haue Receaued, And more over to paie every Weeke weeklie duringe the firste Six weekes vnto the saide Gilbert or his assignes when he shall sett workemen to worke vppon or about the building of the p<sup>r</sup>misses the somme of Tennepoundes of lawffull monie of Englande to paie them there Wages (yf their wages dothe amount vnto somuche monie,) And when the saide plaie house Bull house and stable are Reared then to make vpp the saide Wages one hundreded poundes of lawffull monie of England, and to be paid to the saide Gilbert or his assignes, And when the saide Plaie house Bull house and stable are Reared tyled walled, then to paie vnto the saide Gilbert Katherens or his assignes, One other hundreded poundes of lawffull monie of England / And when the saide Plaie house, Bull house and stable are fullie finished builded and done in mann<sup>r</sup> and forme aforesaide, Then to paie vnto the saide Gilbert Katherens or his assignes, One other hundred Poundes of lawffull monie of England in full satisfacōn and payment of the saide somme of CCclx<sup>ll</sup> And to all and singuler the Covenantes grauntes Articles

and agreemente<s> above in theise pñtes Contayned whiche on the parte and behalfe of the saide Gilbert Katherens his executo<sup>rs</sup> administrators or assignes are ought to be observed p<er>formed fulfilled and done, the saide Gilbert Katherens byndeth himselfe his executo<sup>rs</sup> administrators and assignes, vnto the saide Phillipe Henslowe and Jacob Maide and to either of them, the executo<sup>rs</sup> administrato<sup>rs</sup> and assignes of them or either of them by theise pñtes IN WITNES whereof the saide Gilbert Katherens hath herevnto sett his hande and seale the daie and yere firste above written

the mark GK of Gilbert Katherens

Sealed and Deliuered in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of  
witness Moyses Bowler  
Edwarde Griffin

Gilbert Katherens article<s> and bond

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 19–22; Mun. 49)

(042)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1613 to 28 September 1614

Description: This payment at Leominster, together with the later payment record (ref 049) at Shrewsbury, suggests that the Lady Elizabeth's Men moved towards the Welsh borders after the departure of the Lady Elizabeth and Frederick, Elector Palatine.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Account Book 10*  
(*Accounts of Otis Nicholles, disbursements*)

	li.	s.	d.
...			
Item to Ladie Elizabeths players	00	05	00
...			
Item to players at another tyme	00	04	00

Source: (Klausner 1990, 148)

(043)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 14 October 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Hinchlow J builded vpon y<sup>r</sup> promyse to my wife neather did J acquaint the company w<sup>th</sup> any mony J had of yow because they should seek to y<sup>u</sup> as J know they will & giv you any terms y<sup>u</sup> can desyre if they doe not J will bring y<sup>u</sup> y<sup>r</sup> mony for the papers & many thanks neather will J fayle to bring in the whole play next week whearfor J pray s<sup>r</sup> of all ffrynship disburse one 40<sup>s</sup> & this note shall suffice to aknowledg my self indebted to y<sup>u</sup> w<sup>th</sup> my q<sup>r</sup>ters rent 8<sup>l</sup> for which y<sup>u</sup> shall eather hav the whole companies bonds to pay y<sup>u</sup> the first day of my play being playd or the kings men shall pay it y<sup>u</sup> & take my papers, s<sup>r</sup> my credit is as deer to me now as ever & J will be as carefull of it as heartofore or may J never prosper nor myne so desyryng this may satisfy y<sup>u</sup> till y<sup>u</sup> appoynt a tyme when I shall bring y<sup>u</sup> the companies bond J rest expecting y<sup>r</sup> no more defering me  
xiiij octob  
1613  
ever at yr comānd  
Rob: Daborne

[autograph note:]

Witnes Moyses Bowler

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 76; Art. 85)

(044)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 29 October 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J hav bin twise to speak w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup> both for the sheet J told y<sup>u</sup> off as also to know y<sup>r</sup> determination for the company wheather y<sup>u</sup> purpose they shall have the play or noe, they rale vpon me J hear bycause the kingsmen hav given out they shall hav it if y<sup>u</sup> please J will make y<sup>u</sup> full amends for thear wrong to y<sup>u</sup> in my last play before they get this for J know it is this play must doe them good if y<sup>u</sup> purpose any to them J hav sent y<sup>u</sup> 2 sheets more so y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> hav x sheets & I desyre y<sup>u</sup> to send me 30<sup>s</sup> more which is iust eight pounds besyds my rent which J will fully satisfy y<sup>u</sup> eather by them or the kings men as y<sup>u</sup> please good s<sup>r</sup> let me know y<sup>r</sup> mynd for J desyre to make y<sup>u</sup> part of amends for y<sup>r</sup> great ffyndship to me wishing my labor or service could deserv y<sup>u</sup> so trusting one y<sup>r</sup> gentlenes which cannot long be w<sup>th</sup>out satisfaction now J rest

ever at y<sup>r</sup> comāund  
Rob: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand:]  
Lent m<sup>rs</sup> daborne  
vpon this bille more  
the 29 of octob<sup>r</sup> 1613 } xx<sup>s</sup>

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 76–7; Art. 86)

(045)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 2 November 1613 to 2 November 1614

Description: This payment in Maidstone is another example of a payment record that does not give an exact date of either payment or performance. The range of dates fits in with the progress for Lady Elizabeth through Kent.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

	li.	s.	d.
...			
paid to the Lord dudleys players by Master mayors appoyntment	0	3	4
...			
paid to the Princes players	0	10	0
...			
paid to the Lady Elizabeths players	0	10	0
...			

Source: (Gibson 2002, 724)

(046)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 5 November 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> out of the great love J hav felt from y<sup>u</sup> J am to request y<sup>u</sup> to my great occation & present necessity which w<sup>th</sup> less money will be vnsupplied to send me 20<sup>s</sup> J pray s<sup>r</sup> accoumpt me not amongst the number of those y<sup>t</sup> wholly serv thear own turns for god knows it is not mony could hyre me to be dishonest to so worthy a ffrynd as y<sup>u</sup> ar whearfor sinc thear remayns so small a so<sup>m</sup> J pray part with it to my good which x<sup>s</sup> will not J protest doe, y<sup>u</sup> know it is term tyme & a litle mony wanting will much hynder me whearfor good s<sup>r</sup> let me fynd y<sup>u</sup> put some trust in me which when I deceav god forsake me & myne one munday J will be w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>u</sup> so desyring y<sup>u</sup> to send me the Book y<sup>u</sup> promysd & no less than 20<sup>s</sup> J rest

5 Nov

ever at yr co<sup>m</sup>aund

1613

R: Daborne

[autograph note:]

Witnes Moses Bowler

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 77; Art. 87)

(047)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 13 November 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup> man was w<sup>th</sup> me whoe found me wrighting the last scean which J had thought to have brought y<sup>u</sup> to night but it will be late ear J can doe it & being satterday night my occation vrges me to request y<sup>u</sup> spare me x<sup>s</sup> more & for y<sup>r</sup> mony if y<sup>u</sup> please not to stay till Johnsons play be playd the kings men hav ben very earnest w<sup>th</sup> me to pay y<sup>u</sup> in y<sup>r</sup> mony for y<sup>r</sup> curtesy whearin y<sup>u</sup> shall have 30<sup>s</sup> proffit w<sup>th</sup> many thanks purposing to morow night if y<sup>u</sup> call not vpon me to com & shew y<sup>u</sup> ffynis J pray s<sup>r</sup> supply this my last occation which crowns y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>r</sup> curtesies to which J will now giv speedy requitall resting

Sater No 13

ever at yr co<sup>m</sup>and

1613

Rob: Daborne

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 77–8; Art. 88)

(048)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 13 November 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

Mr Hinchlow y<sup>u</sup> accuse me with the breach of promise, trew it is J promysd to bring y<sup>u</sup> the last scean which y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> may see finished J send y<sup>u</sup> the foule sheet & y<sup>e</sup> fayr J was wrighting as y<sup>r</sup> man can testify which if great busines had not prevented J had this night fynished s<sup>r</sup> y<sup>u</sup> meat me by y<sup>e</sup> comon measuer of poets if J could not liv by it & be honest J would giv it over for rather then J would be vnthankfull to y<sup>u</sup> J would famish thearfor accuse me not till y<sup>u</sup> hav cause if y<sup>u</sup> pleas to p<er>form my request J shall think my self beholding to y<sup>u</sup> for it howsoever J will not fayle to write this fayr and p<er>fit the book which shall not ly one y<sup>r</sup> hands

y<sup>rs</sup> to comānd  
Ro: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand:]

Lent at this tyme v<sup>s</sup>  
the 13 of Novemb<sup>3</sup> 1613

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 78; Art. 89)

(049)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 26 November 1613

Description: Payment at Shrewsbury.

Transcription:

*Town Payment Claims*

geven to the Princes lady Elizabeth her players

xx s.

(signed) William Stephens

ROGER PRVNC

Richard Nettles

Source: (Somerset 1994, 303)



(050)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 27 November 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J have sent to y<sup>u</sup> to request y<sup>u</sup> to send me the twenty shillings J soe earnestly desyred  
y<sup>u</sup> to lend me last night for which as all the rest of y<sup>r</sup> mony J will give yow that honnest  
& iust satisfaction one Tuesday next if y<sup>u</sup> please to come or send to me as J told y<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup>  
shall never repent y<sup>r</sup> many curtesyes to me which ty me so far to p<er>form the  
faythfull part of an honnest man y<sup>t</sup> J shall never trewly rest contented till J manyfest  
myself worthy y<sup>r</sup> great favor which ever J will aknowledge in all servic

27 Nov

to be coñonded

1613

Rob: Daborne

[autograph note:]

Wittnes

Moyses Bowler

[and by Henslowe:]

dd xx<sup>s</sup>

[endorsed by Henslowe:]

this bill not payd

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 78–9; Art. 90)

(051)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 9 December 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> I wrote to yow by my wif hoping vpon y<sup>r</sup> receipt of all my papers y<sup>t</sup> yow would have  
pleasured me with 20<sup>s</sup> if not vpon the play yow hav yet vpon my other out of y<sup>r</sup> book  
which J will vndertake shall make as good a play for y<sup>r</sup> publiq' howse as ever was playd  
for which J desyre but ten pounds & J will vndertake vpon the reading it your company  
shall giv y<sup>u</sup> 20<sup>l</sup> rather then part w<sup>th</sup> it s<sup>r</sup> howsoever my want inforces me for a tyme J

shall shortly be out of it & be able to forbear a play till J can make the best it is but 20<sup>s</sup>  
J desyre till y<sup>r</sup> have mony or security to y<sup>r</sup> content for y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> ar out of J have vpon my  
wifes words kept one all this day heer assuring my self y<sup>u</sup> would for my much good  
have pleased me this onc which J beseech at y<sup>r</sup> hands though y<sup>u</sup> never lay out penny  
more in which trust J rest

9 dece

ever at y<sup>r</sup> comāund

1613

Rob: Daborne

S<sup>r</sup> doe not thinke J incroch vpon y for god is my judg J mean playnly & Justly & y<sup>u</sup>  
shall make y<sup>r</sup> own terms with me in any thinge

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 79–80; Art. 91)

(052)

Document Type: Bond

Date(s): 10 December 1613

Description: Bond from Robert Daborne to Philip Henslowe for writing of *The Owl*.

Transcription:

Noverint uni<sup>r</sup>si [&c. Bond in £40 dated 10 Dec. 1613.]

The condition of this obligacōn is such that if the aboue bounden Robert daborne shall  
deliuer or Cause to bee delivered one plaie fullie perfected and ended Called by the  
name of the Oule vnto the said Phillip Henschlowe att, or vppon the tenth daye of  
ffebruarie next ensuinge the date hereof w<sup>ch</sup>: the said Phillip Henschlow shall approove  
alowe and accept of that · then and from hencefoorth this present obligacōn to bee voyde  
and of non effect or else to remayne in full power strength and virtue

Robert Daborne

Signed Sealed and delu<sup>d</sup>ed in the presence of

Edwarde Griffin

Walter Hopkinss

Geo: Hales

[endorsed in Henslowe's hand:]

m<sup>r</sup> dabornes bande

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 80; Art. 92)

(053)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 12 December 1613

Description: Payment was made to Joseph Moore on 21 June 1614 for a performance of *The Dutch Courtesan* on 12 December 1613. Together with the performance on 25 January 1614 (ref 057) the payment shows that the Lady Elizabeth's Men were present in London for the court Christmas festivities. The original patent for the company said that the company must perform 'for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them' and these performances are examples of occasions when the presence of the company has been demanded at court.

Transcription:

To him more for himselfe and his said fellowes vpon lyke warraunte dated the xxj<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1614 for presenting before the Prince<s> highnes a Comedy called the Dutch Curtezan on the xij<sup>th</sup> of December last past  
vj<sup>li</sup> xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 58–59; item 29a)

(054)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 24 December 1613

Description: Acquittance from Robert Daborne for £7.

Transcription:

Receaved by mee Robert daborne gentleman of Phillipp Henchlow Esquier the 24 of december 1613 the some of seaven pounce<s> in parte of payment of the some of tenn pounce<s> w<sup>ch</sup>. J am to receave of the said Phillip Henchlowe in full satisfacōn of a plaie Called the Oule when J have fynished and made perfect the same accordinge to a bond made by mee to the said Phillip for the same. Jn wittnes whereof J have hereto sett my hand the daye and yeare first above written

Rob: Daborne

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 80; Art. 93)

(055)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 31 December 1613

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> J yeeld y<sup>u</sup> many thanks for y<sup>r</sup> last kindnes which did me infinite pleasure J hav bin very ill this week of an extream cold ells J had come this night vnto you J will request no farther curtesy at your hands vpon any occation till y<sup>u</sup> hav papers in fully to y<sup>r</sup> content only the other tenn shillings which J requested agst this day being a tyme y<sup>t</sup> requires me beyond my present meanes S<sup>r</sup> think not y<sup>r</sup> curtesy can loose by me J will be any thing rather then Ingratefull to so much love as J hav receaved from y<sup>u</sup> as y<sup>u</sup> hav donn what J can desyre in doing this, so now look for my honnest care to dischardge my bond J will not truble y<sup>u</sup> w<sup>th</sup> many words god send y<sup>u</sup> many hapy new years & me no otherwise then J approv my self honest to y<sup>u</sup>

31 dec  
1613

y<sup>rs</sup> ever at comāund  
Rob: Daborne

one munday J will come to y<sup>u</sup> & appoynt for the reading the old Book & bringing in the new /

[note in Henslowe's hand:]

pd vpon this bille toward the owle x<sup>s</sup>

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 80–81; Art. 94)

(056)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): undated

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne. The inclusion of this undated letter here is in line with the ordering of the transcriptions made by W.|W. Greg.

Transcription:

Mr Hinchlow J acquaynted you w<sup>th</sup> my necessity which I know you did in part supply but if you doe not help me to tenn shillings by this bearer by the living god J am vtterly disgract one ffyday night J will bring you papers to the valew of three acts S<sup>r</sup> my occation is not ordynary that thus sodeynly J write to you whearfor J beseech you do this for me as ever y<sup>u</sup> wisht me well which if I requite not heaven forget me

y<sup>rs</sup> at comāund

Rob: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand:]

Lent vpon this bille x<sup>s</sup> dd to the fencer vpon the owle

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 81; Art. 95)

(057)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 25 January 1614

Description: Payment was made to Joseph Taylor on 21 June 1614 for a performance at court of *Eastward Ho* on 25 January 1614.

Transcription:

To Ioseph Taylor for himselfe and the rest of his fellowes servaunte<s> to the Lady Eliz' her grace vpon the Councelle<s> warraunte dated at whithall xxj<sup>mo</sup> Iunij 1614 for presenting before his Ma<sup>ty</sup> a Comedy called Eastward Howe on the xxv<sup>th</sup> of Ianuary last past vj<sup>li</sup> xiijs<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> and by way of his Ma<sup>te</sup> rewarde lxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> In all

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 58; item 29a)

(058)

Document Type: Legal proceedings

Date(s): 2 March 1614

Description: Following Christmas court performances the company travelled once again. The payment record in Norwich shows a payment made to Nicholas Longe on 2 March 1614; this was the first time that Longe was mentioned in connection with the company. Having presented its authorisation the company contended that it did not need

to ask the permission of the authorities to play in the city. This approach brought the company into dispute with the city authorities.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XIV*

...

Nicholas Longe and other Players Sevantes to the Lady Elizabeth his *Maiesties* Daughter Authorised to play by the Kynges *Maiestie* vnder the great Seale Came this day into the Court and beinge demaunded wherefore their Comeinge was, Sayd they Came not to aske leaue to play But to aske the gratuetie of the Cytty./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 141)

(059)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 11 March 1614

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> if y<sup>u</sup> doe not like this play when it is read y<sup>u</sup> shall hav the other which shall be finished w<sup>th</sup> all expedition for before god this is a good one & will giv y<sup>u</sup> content howsoever y<sup>u</sup> shall never loose a farthing by me whearfor J pray misdoubt me not but as y<sup>u</sup> hav bin kynd to me so continew it till J deserv the contrary and J pray send me ten shillings & take these papers which wants but one short scean of the whole play so J rest

Y<sup>rs</sup> at co<sup>m</sup>aund

Rob: Daborne

[note in Henslowe's hand:]

pd vnto you<sup>r</sup>  
dawghter the 11 of } x<sup>s</sup>  
m<sup>r</sup>che 1613 }

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 82; Art. 96)

(060)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 21 March 1614

Description: The city authorities at Norwich blamed the company for civil disorder at performances. The civic response to this was to reintroduce old laws against playgoing to prevent the town's citizens from attending performances of plays.

Transcription:

*Assembly Proceedings V*

...

Whereas Ioseph Moore and other Stageplayers *servantes* to the Lady Elizabeth Came lately to this Cytty and here attempted to play without leave from *Master* Maior, At *which* their said playes were many outrages & disorders *Commytted* As *ffightynges* whereby some were wounded, and throweinge about & publishinge of sedicious *Libelles* much tendyng to the disturbance & breach of his *Maiestes* peace./ ffor the *preventyng* therefore of the like abuses and disorders hereafter, Yt ys this day agreed that the Lawe made in the tyme of *Master* Bowdes Maioraltie for restraynyng of Cittizens from goeyng to stage playes & enterludes shall from henceforth be putt in execucion, And further yt ys agreed that such of the poorer sorte *which* shall offend in that kynde not beyng of abilitie to contribute wekely towardes the releif of the poore shall be sent to Bridwell, And yf any suite shalbe brought against the Maior for the tyme beyng by any *person* or *persons* for the Cause abouesaid the said suite shalbe [defrayed] defended at the Chardge of the Cytty /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 140)

(061)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 28 March 1614

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Transcription:

Mr Hinchlow y<sup>u</sup> hav now a full play J desyr y<sup>u</sup> should disburse but 12<sup>l</sup> a play till they be playd J mean to vrdege y<sup>u</sup> no farther for if y<sup>u</sup> like not this y<sup>u</sup> shall hav another to y<sup>r</sup> content befor god y<sup>u</sup> shall hav the full play now & J desyr but 20<sup>s</sup> to serv my ordynary turn till J hav finished one y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup> may hav y<sup>r</sup> choyse for J would hav y<sup>u</sup> know J can hav mony for papers though J hav cast my self vpon y<sup>u</sup> w<sup>th</sup> a purpose to deserv y<sup>r</sup> love as for m<sup>r</sup> Pallat is much discontented w<sup>th</sup> your neglect of him J would J knew y<sup>r</sup> mynd to giv

him awnswer S<sup>r</sup> if y<sup>u</sup> deny me this reasonable kyndnes it will forc me to ingage a play  
which y<sup>u</sup> will miss so desyryng y<sup>r</sup> awnswer J rest

28 march  
1613

y<sup>rs</sup> at comānd  
R: Dab:

[notes in Henslowe's hand]  
dd vnto m<sup>r</sup> daborne the 2  
of ap<sup>r</sup>ell 1614 in earneste of  
the shee saynte at his owne  
howsse the some of . . viii<sup>s</sup>

Lent of this bille the 29  
of m<sup>r</sup>che [in] full payment  
of his new playe laste  
written the some of . . . } x<sup>s</sup>

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 82–3; Art. 97)

(062)

Document Type: Contract

Date(s): 7 April 1614

Description: The player Robert Dawes made an agreement with the playhouse owners Philip Henslowe and Jacob Meade to perform for a playing company under their control. The dating of the agreement is such that the Lady Elizabeth's Men is likely to be the company for which he was contracted. The contract for the building of the Hope had been signed in August of the previous year (ref 041) so the playhouse owners were looking to expand their activities.

Transcription:

[Articles of Agreement,] made concluded and agreed uppon and w<sup>ch</sup> are to be kept & performed by Robert Dawes of London Gent unto and with Phillipp Henslowe Esq<sup>re</sup> and Jacob [Meade Waterman] in manner and forme followinge, that is to say

Imprimis. the said Robert Dawes for him his executors and administrators doth covenante promise and graunt to and with the said Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade their executors administrators and assynes in manner and formme followinge that is to saie that he the said Robert Dawes shall and will plaie with such company as the said Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade shall appoynte for and during the tyme and space of three yeares from the date hereof for and at the rate of one whole Share accordinge to the custome of players; and that he the said Robert Dawes shall and will at all tymes during the said terme duly attend all suche rehearsall which shall the night before the rehearsall be given publickly out; and if that he the saide Robert Dawes shall at any tyme faile to come at the hower appoynted, then he shall and will pay to the said Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade their executors or assignes Twelve pence; and if he



come not before the saide rehearsall is ended then the said Robert Dawes is contented to pay twoe shillings ; and further that if the said Robert Dawes shall not every daie whereon any play is or ought to be played be ready apparelled and—to begyn the play at the hower of three of the clock in the afternoone unles by sixe of the same Company he shall be lycenced to the contrary, that then he the saide Robert Dawes shall and will pay unto the said Phillipp and Jacob or their assignes three [shillings] and if that he the saide Robert Dawes Happen to be overcome with drinck at the tyme when he [ought to] play, by the Judgement of ffower of the said company, he shall and will pay Tenne shillings and if he [the said Robert Dawes] shall [faile to come] during any plaie having noe lycence or just excuse of sicknes he is contented to pay Twenty shillings; and further the said Robert Dawes for him his executors and administrators doth covenant and graunt to and with the said Phillipp Henslowe and Jacob Meade their executors administrators and assignes by these presents, that it shall and may be lawfull unto and for the said Phillippe Henslowe and Jacob Meade their executors or assignes during the terme aforesaid to receave and take back to their own proper use the p't of him the said Robert Dawes of and in one moyetie or halfe part of all suche moneyes as shal be receaved at the Galleries & tiring howse of such house or howses wherin he the saide Robert Dawes shall play; for and in consideration of the use of the same howse and howses, and likewis shall and may take and receave his other moyetie . . . . . the moneyes receaved at the galleries and tiring howse dues towards the pa[y]ng] to them the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade of the some of one hundred twenty and fower pounds [being the value of the stock of apparell furnished by the saide company by the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade . . . . . the one part of him the saide Robert Dawes or any other somes . . . . . to them for any apparell hereafter newly to be bought by the [said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade until the saide Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade] shall therby be fully satisfied contented and paid. And further the said Robert Dawes doth covenant [promise and graunt to and with the said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade that if he the said Robert Dawes] shall at any time after the play is ended depart or goe out of the [howse] with any [of their] apparell on his body Or if the said Robert Dawes [shall carry away any propertie] belonging to the said Company, or shal be consentinge [or privy to any other of the said company going out of the howse with any of their apparell on his or their bodies, he the said] Robert Dawes shall and will forfeit and pay unto the said Phillip and Jacob or their administrators or assignes the some of ffortie pounds of lawfull [money of England] . . . . . and the said Robert Dawes for him his executors and administrators doth [covenant promise and graunt to with the said] Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade their Executors and Administrators, [and assigns]

that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Phillip Henslowe and Jacob Meade their executors and assignes to have and use the playhows so appoynted [for the said company one day of] every fower daies, the said daie to be chosen by the said Phillip and [Jacob]

monday in any week on which day it shalbe lawful for the said Phillip [and Jacob their administrators] and assignes to bait their bears and bulls ther, and to

use their accustomed sport and [games]

and take to their owne use all suche  
somes of money as thereby shall arise and be receaved

And the saide Robert Dawes his executors administrators and assignes [doth hereby  
covenant promise and graunt to and with the saide Phillip and Jacob,] allowing to the  
saide company daye the some of ffortie shillings money of England . . . . [In  
testimony] for every such wherof I the saide Robert Dawes haue hereunto sett my hand  
and seal this [sev]enth daie of April 1614 in the twelfth yeare [of the reign of our  
sovereign lord &c.]

ROBERT DAWES.

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 123–25; Art 2)

(063)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 21 May 1614

Description: Payment at Rye. The company headed south after the altercations at  
Norwich and were paid by the mayor of Rye.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Rough Accounts*

...

*Paid* to Princes Elizabethes players by the Appointment of master Maior xj s.

Source: (Louis 2000, 149)

(064)

Document Type: Correspondence

Description: Letter to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne.

Date(s): 31 July 1614

Transcription:

S<sup>r</sup> if ever my service may do y<sup>u</sup> so much pleasure or my ability make y<sup>u</sup> payment for it,  
let me receav now this curtesy from yow being but x<sup>s</sup> by god had it not bin Sunday J

would not have for twise so much wrote to y<sup>u</sup> in this manner but my lord willoughby hath sent for me to goe to him to morow morning by six a clock & J know not how proffitable it may be to me & w<sup>th</sup>out y<sup>r</sup> kindnes hearin J cannot goe he goes away w<sup>th</sup> the kinge to morow morning whearfor J must be thear by tymes making this last tryall of y<sup>r</sup> love & favor J rest

Y<sup>rs</sup> to comānd  
Rob: Daborne

note in Henslowe's hand:]  
Lent vpon this bille the 2 of aguste 1614

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 83; Art. 98)

(065)

Document Type: Text from Play Edition

Date(s): 31 October 1614

Description: an extract from the 'Induction' to Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* gives further details about the first performance of the play. The date of performance is given as 31 October and the venue as the Hope playhouse. The play edition also confirms the role of Henslowe within the management of the company as the Hope was commissioned by Henslowe in partnership with Jacob Meade, both signatories to the management agreement that had been signed between them and Nathan Field. The Hope was newly finished in 1614; the original contract between Henslowe and Katherens for the commissioning for a playhouse that was capable of being used as a bear-baiting pit was unusual, but given that it had only recently opened by the time of the first performance of *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson's description of the playhouse as being 'as dusty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit' may have been a little unfair.

Transcription:

ARTICLES of Agreement, indented, between the *Spectators* or *Hearers*, at the *Hope* on the Bankeside, in the county of *Surrey* on the one party; And the *Author of Bartholmew Fayre* in the said place, and County on the other party: the one and thirtieth day of *Octob.* 1614 and in the twelfth yeere of the Raigne of our Soueragine Lord, IAMES by the grace of God *King of England, France, & Ireland*, Defender of the faith. And of *Scotland the seauen and fortieth*:

Source: (Jonson 1631, A5r)

(066)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1 November 1614

Description: The performance date for Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* is confirmed by a court payment record which also confirmed the presence of Nathan Field within the company, not just as a player, but also in a position of responsibility as a court payee. The payment itself was not made until June 1615; payment gaps of such length were not unusual.

Transcription:

To Nathan Feilde in the behalfe of himselfe and the rest of his fellowes vppon like warr<sup>t</sup>  
dated xj<sup>mo</sup> Iunij 1615 for presentinge a play called Bartholomewe faire before his Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
on the firste of November last paste x<sup>li</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 60; item 48a)

(067)

Document Type: Text from Play Edition

Date(s): 1 November 1614

Description: The 1631 quarto of Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* is unusual in that it also contains a separate prologue addressed to 'to the king's majestie' which dates the court performance of the play to 1 November 1614, the day immediately after the first public performance at the Hope.

Transcription:

THE | PROLOGVE | *TO* | THE KINGS | MAIESTY | *Your Maiesty is welcome to a  
Fayre; | Such place, such men, such language & such ware, | You must expect: with  
these, the zealous noyse | Of your lands Faction, scandaliz'd at toyes, | As Babies,  
Hobby-horses, Puppet-playes. | And such like rage, whereof the petulant wayes | Your  
selfe haue knowne, and have bin vext with long. | These for your sport, without  
perticular wrong, | Or suct complaint of any priuate man, | (Who of himselfe, or shall  
thinke well or can) | The Maker doth present: and hopes, to night | To giue you for a  
Fayring, true delight.*

Source: (Jonson 1631, A3r)

(068)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 1615

Description: This document makes a list of grievances against Philip Henslowe after he took the step of joining the Lady Elizabeth's Men with the Queen's Revels, who were at that time under the control of Philip Rosseter. The playing company is not specifically named but players connected with the Lady Elizabeth's Men are mentioned. Joseph Taylor, William Barksted (named as Baxter in the document), and William Ecclestone are all considered as original members of the company (ref 004). Nathan Field, who wrote for the company, and acted as a court payee on their behalf, is also included within the document. The claims made against Henslowe were all of a financial nature. The dating of this document to 1615 follows the dating of W.W. Greg's transcriptions of the Henslowe archive.

Transcription:

Imprimis in March 1612 vppon m<sup>r</sup>: Hynchlowes Joyninge Companes w<sup>th</sup>: m<sup>r</sup>: Rosseter, y<sup>e</sup> Companie borrowed 80<sup>ll</sup>: of one m<sup>r</sup>: Griffin and the same was put into m<sup>r</sup>: Hinchlowe's debt; w<sup>ch</sup>: made itt sixteene score pounde<s> whoe [a]fter the receipt of the same or most parte thereof in March 1613 hee broke the saide Comp[any a]gaine and Ceazed all the stocke; vnder Culler to satisfie what remayned due to [him]; yet p<er>swaded M<sup>r</sup>: Griffyne afterwarde<s> to arest the Companie for his 80<sup>ll</sup>: whoe are still in daunger for the same; Soe nowe there was in equitie due to the Companie 80<sup>ll</sup>:

Item m<sup>r</sup> Hinchlowe having lent one Taylor 30<sup>ll</sup>: and 20<sup>ll</sup> to one Baxter fellowes of the Companie Cunninglie put theire said privat debts into the generall accompt by w<sup>ch</sup>: meanes hee is in Conscience to allowe them 50<sup>ll</sup>:

Item havinge the stock of Apparell in his hande<s> to secure his debt he sould tenn pounde<s> worth of ould apparell out of the same w<sup>th</sup>: out accomptinge or abatinge for the same; heare growes due to the Companie 10<sup>ll</sup>

Also vppon the dep<ar>ture of one Eglestone a ffellowe of the Companie hee recovered of him 14<sup>ll</sup>: towarde<s> his debt w<sup>ch</sup>: is in Conscience likewise to bee allowed to the Companie 14

In March 1613 hee makes vpp a Companie and buies apparrell of one Rosseter to the value of 63<sup>ll</sup>: and valued the ould stocke that remayned in his hande<s> at 63<sup>ll</sup>: likewise they vppon his word acceptinge the same at that rate, w<sup>ch</sup> being prized by M<sup>r</sup>: Daborne iustlie, betweene his partner Meade and him Came but to 40<sup>ll</sup>: soe heare growes due to the Companie 23<sup>ll</sup>:

Item hee agrees w<sup>th</sup>: the said Companie that they should enter bond to plaie w<sup>th</sup>: him for three yeares att such house and houses as hee shall appointe and to allowe him halfe galleries for the said house and houses ; and the other halfe galleries towarde<s> his debt of 126<sup>ll</sup>: and other such moneys as hee should laie out for playe apparrell duringe the space of the said 3 yeares, agreeing w<sup>th</sup> them ; in Consideracō theareof to seale each of them a bond of 200<sup>ll</sup>: to find them a Convenient house and houses ; and to laie out such moneies as fower of the sharers should think fitt for their use in apparrell w<sup>ch</sup>: att the 3 yeares, being paid for ; to be deliuered to the sharers ; whoe accordinglie entered the said bonde<s> ; but M<sup>r</sup>: Hinchlowe and M<sup>r</sup>: Mead deferred the same ; an in Conclusion vtterly denied to seale att all.

Item: M<sup>r</sup>: Hinchlowe havinge promised in Consideracō of the Companies lying still one daie in forteene for his baytinge to give them 50<sup>s</sup>: hee havinge denied to bee bound as aforesaid gave them onlie 40<sup>s</sup>: and for that M<sup>r</sup>: ffield would not Consent therevnto hee gave him soe much as his share out of 50<sup>ll</sup>: would have Come vnto ; by w<sup>ch</sup>: meanes hee is dylie indebted to y<sup>e</sup> Companie x<sup>ll</sup> :

In June followinge the said agreement, hee brought in M<sup>r</sup>: Pallant and shortie after M<sup>r</sup>: dawes into the said Companie; promising one 12<sup>s</sup>: a weeke out of his parte of the galleries ; and the other 6: a weeke out of his part of the galleries ; and because M<sup>r</sup>: ffield was thought not to bee drawne therevnto; hee promissed him six shillings weekelie alsoe; w<sup>ch</sup>: in one moneth after vnwilling to beare soe greate a Charge ; he Called the Companie together ; and told them that this 24<sup>s</sup>: was to bee Charged vppon them ; threatnīge those w<sup>ch</sup>: would not Consent therevnto to breake the Companie and make vpp a newe w<sup>th</sup>: out the[m] Whearevppon knowinge hee was not bound ; the threequarters sharers advauncinge them selves to whole shares Consented therevnto by w<sup>ch</sup>: meanes they are out of purse 30<sup>ll</sup>: and his parte of the galleries bettred twice as much 30<sup>ll</sup> :

Item havinge 9 gatherers more than his due itt Comes to this yeare from the Companie 10<sup>ll</sup> :

Item the Companie paid for [Arra]s and other properties 40<sup>ll</sup>: w<sup>ch</sup>: M<sup>r</sup>:Henchlow deteyneth 40<sup>ll</sup> :

In ffebruarie last 1614 perceav[ing]e the Companie drewe out of his debt and Called vppon him for his accompts hee brooke the Companie againe ; by w<sup>th</sup>: drawinge the hired men from them ; and selle<s> their stocke (in his hands) for 400<sup>ll</sup>: givinge vnder his owne hand that hee had receaved towarde<s> his debt 300<sup>ll</sup> :

Which w<sup>th</sup>: the iuste and Conscionable allowances before named made to the Companie w<sup>ch</sup>: Comes to . . . . . 267<sup>ll</sup>: makes 567<sup>ll</sup> :

Articles of oppression against  
M<sup>r</sup>: Hinchlowe. /

Hee Chargeth the stocke w<sup>th</sup>: . . . . 600<sup>ll</sup>: and odd; towarde<s> w<sup>ch</sup> hee hath receaved as aforesaid . . . . 567<sup>ll</sup>: of vs; yet selle<s> the stocke to strangers for fower hundred pounce<s>; and makes vs no satisfacōn. /

Hee hath taken all bounde<s> of our hired men in his owne name whose wages though wee have truly paid yet att his pleasure hee hath taken them a waye; and turned them over to others to the breaking of our Companie. /

ffor lending of vj<sup>ll</sup>: to p[ay] them theire wages; hee made vs enter bond to give him the profitt of a warraunt of tenn pounce<s> due to vs att Court. /

Alsoe hee hath taken right gould and silver lace of divers garmente<s> to his owne vse w<sup>th</sup>: out accompt to vs or abatement. /

Vppon everie breach of the Companie hee takes newe bonde<s> for his stocke ; and our securitie for playinge w<sup>th</sup>: him Soe that hee hath in his hande<s>, bonde<s> of ours to the value of 5000<sup>ll</sup>: and his stocke to ; w<sup>ch</sup>: hee denies to deliuer and threatens to oppresse v<sup>s</sup>: with

Alsoe havinge apointed a man to the seeinge of his accompte<s> in byinge of Clothes (hee beinge to have vi<sup>s</sup>: a weeke ; hee takes y<sup>e</sup> meanes away and turnes the man out. /

The reason of his often breakinge w<sup>th</sup>: vs ; hee gave in these worde<s> should these fellowes Come out of my debt, J should have noe rule w<sup>th</sup>: them

Alsoe wee have paid him for plaie booke<s> 200<sup>ll</sup>: or thereabout<s> and yet hee denies to give vs the Coppies of any one of them. /

Also w<sup>th</sup>: in 3 yeares hee hath broken and dissmembred five Companies. /

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 86–90; Art. 106)

(069)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 28 March 1615.

Description: During travelling, the Lady Elizabeth's Men often fell into conflict with the civic authorities in the towns where it sought to play. Towards the end of March the company arrived in Coventry where an altercation between one of the players and Thomas Barrow, a clothworker of the city, occurred. The details of the exchange were recorded together with details of a licence dated 31 May 1613 and a list of names of players that constituted the company during the Coventry visit. Of these players only John Townsend and Joseph Moore are referred to as being named on the original 27 April 1611 patent. The other names appearing here are different to those that appeared in London whilst the company was under contract to Philip Henslowe.

Transcription:

*Letter concerning the Lady Elizabeth's Players*

28<sup>o</sup> die Marcij. 1615

One of the Company of the Lady Elizabethes players came to this Cittie the 27<sup>th</sup> of March and said to Thomas Barrowes Clothworker these wordes. *videlicet*. [Yf you were well served you would be fatched vpp with pursivauntes, and that you would haue [the] your throates cutt [such poor] ] you are such people in this Towne so peevishe that you would have your throates cutt and that you were well served you would be fatched vpp with pursevauntes /

Witnes hereof. (*signed*) Thomas Barowes

The names of the players names named in the patent the Lady Elizabethes players bearinge date the xxxj<sup>th</sup> of May. Anno Undecimo Jacobi.

lohn Townesend	sworne officers. & non other
iosephe Moore	named in the patent.

William Perry

Robert ffintche

George Bosgrove

Thomas Suell

lames lones

Charles Martyn

Boyes

hughe haughton

lames Kneller

lohn Hunt

Edward

Raphe

Walter Burrett

.5. Horses in the Company

(*reverse of sheet*)

The misdemeanor of one of the Lady Elizibeths Players.

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 393–94)

(070)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 28 March 1615



Description: The Coventry incident (ref 069) led to the banning of players within the city by Sir Edward Coke, chief justice to the common Pleas, as recorded in a letter from Sir Edward to the mayor of Coventry. The company had presented itself for playing during Lent, a time when such entertainments were disallowed; a ruling was made by Sir Edward Coke that the Coventry officials were correct to disallow playing as the company was in breach of the royal injunctions against playing at this time.

Transcription:

fforasmuch as this is by his *maiestes* laws and Iniunctions Consecrated to the service of Almightye God, and publike notice was given on the last Sabaoth for *preparacion* to the receyving of the holy *Communion*, Theis are to will and require you to suffer no *Common* players whatsoever to play *within your* Citie, for that it would lead to the hindrance of devotion, and drawing of the artificers and *Common* people from their labours. And this being signified vnto any such they will rest therewith (as becometh them) satisfied, otherwise suffer you them not, and this shalbe *your* sufficient warrant. this 28<sup>th</sup> of March: 1615

(*signed*) Edw Coke

·To the Maior and Iustices  
within the citie of Coventre·  
·The Lord Coke his *lettere*  
concerning the *Ladie Elizabeths* Players·

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 394–95)

(071)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 27 May 1615

Description: The disturbance and subsequent banning of the company in Coventry took the company to Norwich some months later. Here it presented a copy of a patent to the town authorities and was permitted to pay for two days only. The entry in the records makes it clear that the original patent was dated 27 April 1611 and the copy was dated 31 May 1613 which makes it the same document presented in Coventry naming the players of the company (ref 069). More importantly the document dated 27 April 1611 must be the original patent document of the company (ref 003). The recording of the copy here refers only to John Townsend and Joseph Moore, the leaders of the company.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books*

...

An exemplificacion of a Patent brought vnder the great Seale bearinge teste 27<sup>o</sup> Aprilis Anno Nono made to Iohn Townesend & Ioseph More sworne servant<sup>es</sup> to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the rest of the Company to play Stage playes &c Durante bene placito, Thexemplificacion of the patent ys test 31<sup>o</sup> Maij Anno xj<sup>o</sup> / They are tollerated to play on monday & tuesday next / ffrauncis Parker musician late of Romeford in Essex beinge taken wandringe & suspected for michinge ys committed to Bridwell till wednesday after Trinity Sondag

Source: (Galloway 1984, 142–43)

(072)

Document Type:

Date(s): 3 June 1615

Description: Licence for the erection of the Porter's Hall playhouse granted to Philip Rosseter.

Transcription:

D'con' regard Pho

Rosseter et al.

Iames by the Grace of God &c' To all Maiors Sheriffs Iustices of peace Bayliffs Constables headboroughes and to all other our Officers Ministers and loving Subiects to whome these p'sents shall come greeting. whereas wee by our lres Patents sealed with our great seale of England bearing date the ffourth day of Ianuary in the seaventh yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the three and ffortieth for the consideracions in the same lres patents expressed did appoint and authorise Phillipp Rosseter and certaine others from tyme to tyme to p<ro>vide keepe and bring vppe a convenient number of children and them to practise and exercise in the quallitie of playing by the name of the children of the Revells to the Queene within the white ffryers in the Suburbs of our Cittie of london or in any other convenient place where they the said Phillipp Rosseter and the rest of his partners should thinke fitting for that purpose As in and by the said lres patents more at large appeareth And whereas the said Phillipp Rosseter and the rest of his said partners have ever since trayned vppe and practised a convenient number of children of the Revells for the purpose aforesaid in a Messuage or mansion house being parcell of the late dissolved Monastery called the white ffryers neere ffleetestreete in london which the said Phillipp Rosseter did lately hold for terme of certaine yeres expired, And whereas the said Phillipp Roseter together with Phillipp kingman Robert Iones and Raphe Reeve to continue the said service for

the keeping and bringing vppe of the children for the solace and pleasure of our said most deere wife and the better to practise and exercise them in the quallitie of playing by the name of children of the Revells to the Queene have latelie taken in lease and farme divers buildings Cellers sollars chambers and yards for the building of a Playhouse therevpon for the better practising and exercise of the said children of the Revells. All which p'misses are scituate and being within the Precinct of the Blacke ffryers neere Puddlewarfe in the Suburbs of london called by the name of the lady Saunders house or otherwise Porters hall and now in the occupation of the said Robert Iones. Nowe knowe yee that wee of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion have given and graunted, And by theise p'sents for vs our heires and successors doe give and graunte lycense and authoritie vnto the said Phillipp Rosseter Phillipp kingman Robert Iones and Raphe Reeve at their p<rop>er costs and charges to erect build and sett vppe in and vppon the said p'misses before mencioned one convenient Playhouse for the said children of the Revells, the same Playhouse to be vsed by the Children of the Revells for the tyme being of the Queenes Maiestie and for the Princes Players and for the ladie Elizabeths Players soe tollerated or lawfully lycensed to play exercise and practise them therin, Any lawe Statute Act of Parliament restraint or other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Willing and coñmaunding you and every of you our said Maiors Sheriffs Iustices of peace Bayliffs Constables headboroughes and all other our officers and Ministers for the tyme being as yee tender our pleasure to permitt and suffer them therein without any your letts hinderance molestacion or disturbance whatsoever. In witnes wherof &c' witnes our selfe at westminster the third day of Iune  
p bre de priuato sigillo &c'.

Source: (Chambers and Greg 1909, 277–79)

(073)

Document Type: Financial Bond

Date(s): 4 July 1615

Description: Financial bond between Philip Henslowe, Robert Daborne, and Philip Massinger.

Transcription:

Noverint vniversi [&c. Bond in £6 dated 4 July 1615:]

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bownden Robert daborn and Phillip massinger or eather of them shall pay or cause to be payd vnto the above named Phillip Henschlow his exec administrators or assigns the full and Jntier soñ of three pownds of lawfull mony of England at or vpon the first day of August next insuing the

date of these presents at the now dwellinge howse of the sd Phillip Henschlow scituate  
one the Banksyde w<sup>th</sup>out fraude or farther deley Then & from thencforth this present  
obligation to be voyd and of noe effect or ells to remayn & abide in full power strengh  
and virtue /

Rob: Daborne  
Philip massinger

Sealed and delivered in the presence of vs  
Walter Hopkins

[endorsed by Henslowe:]  
m<sup>r</sup> dabornes & m<sup>r</sup> messengers band for payment of iij<sup>l</sup> the [1] of aguste 1615 lente

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 85; Art. 102)

(074)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1 November 1615 to 31 October 1616

Description: Despite the controversy of the previous visit (ref 069) on 28 March 1615 a payment was made to the company by the civic authorities in Coventry during the period from 1 November 1615 to 31 October 1616. The payment is part of a long list of payments to players, and other entertainers, and shows the wide variety of entertainments that were provided by the civic authorities of Coventry. The entry specifically says that the company appeared so this is not a payment following a refusal to play so, despite the altercation at their appearance in the city in March 1615, the company was allowed to return and play.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewards to players

...

Gyven vnto one that had the Kinges Maiesties warrant to shewe Trickes with poppittes as appeareth by a bill vnder maister Maiors hand	iij s iiij d
Gyven to the Lord Willoughbeyes Men the xxij <sup>th</sup> of May 1616	ij s.
Gyven to the Lord Ivers Trumpeters the xxx <sup>th</sup> of March 1616	ij s vj d
Gyven to the Waytes of Leicester the same day	ij s
Gyven to the Ways of Nottingham the same day	ij s
Gyven to the Ways of Southam as appeareth by the same bill	xij d
Gyven to the Ways of Shrewsbury the same day	ij s

Gyven to the Prince his players 1 quarter of the pound of refined Suger att the parlor & a quart of sacke	xvij d
Gyven to the Musicions the third of November 1616	xij d
Gyven to the Earle of Shrewsbury his players as appeareth by a bill	v s.
Gyven to the Dukes and the Lord Treasurers Trumpeters	v s.
Gyven to the Waytes of Shrewsbury	ij s vj d
Gyven to the Lord of Darbys beareward as appeareth by a bill	iiij s iiij d
Gyven to the Lord Comptons Beareward as appeareth by a bill	x s.
Gyven to the Wayts of Nottingham as appeareth by a bill	xij d
Gyven to an Italian that thrust himself through the side to make experiment of his oyle as appeareth by a bill vnder <i>maister</i> Maiors hand	xx s
Gyven to the Prince his players as appeareth by a bill vnder <i>maister</i> Maiors hand	iiij li.
Gyven to the Councells Trumpeters the xvij <sup>th</sup> of August 1616	x s.
Gyven to the Wayts of Lincolne as appeareth by a bill vnder <i>Maister</i> Maiors hande	ij s.
Gyven to the Pallesgraves players as appeareth by a bill the xiiij <sup>th</sup> of Iuly 1616.	xl s.
Gyven to the Lady Elizabeth her players as appeareth by an other bill	xl s.
Gyven to the Company of the Revells the xxj <sup>th</sup> of Iune 1616. as appeareth by a bill vnder <i>maister</i> Maiors hand	xx s.
Gyven to the Wayts of Hertford the vij <sup>th</sup> of Iune 1616.	ij s.
Gyven to the Lord of Derbyes players the xiiij <sup>th</sup> of May 1616.	x s.
Gyven to the Queenes players the xvij <sup>th</sup> of february 1615.	xx s.
Gyven to the Lord of Mounteagles players as appeareth by a bill	x s.
Gyven to the Wayts of this City	ij s
Gyven to the Queenes <i>Maiesties</i> players the xiiij <sup>th</sup> of November 1615.	xl s.
Gyven to the ffencers the v <sup>th</sup> of November 1616	ij s.
Summa xvij li. ij s ij d	

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 396–97)

(075)

Document Type: Private Houesehold Payment Record

Date(s): 8 November 1615 to 6 February 1616

Description: The records of companies playing in private houses have not survived in the same numbers as civic records but the Household Accounts for the Walmsley family of Dunkenhalgh Hall in Lancashire show that the Lady Elizabeth's Men performed there. The record shows that payments for entertainment were not uncommon for the household but there were no other payments to companies of the status and stature of the Lady Elizabeth's Men; this is reflected in the size of the payment to it.

Transcription:

*Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley I*

...

Item gyven vnto my Lord Mountagles players 16 <sup>th</sup> of November	vj s. viij d./
Item gyven vnto the Ladye Elizabeths men	xx s.
Item gyven vnto mr warrans men	ij s.
Item gyven vnto the waytes of Hallifax	ij s.
Item gyven the pypers	iiij s.
Item gyven to Key pyper	xiiij s. iiij d.

Source: (George 1991, 186)

(076)

Document Type: Contract

Date(s): 20 March 1616

Description: Members of the company signed an agreement with Edward Alleyn and Jacob Meade. In the document the players agreed that they would pay him one quarter of all money taken when they played at the Hope.

Transcription:

[Abstract.] ‘Articles of Agream<sup>t</sup> Indented had made concluded & agreed vppon the Twentieth daye of Marche Anno Dñi 1615 · Betwene Edward Allen esq and Jacob Meade of the one p<ar>tie And William Rowley Robt Pallant Josephe Taylor Robt Hamlett John Newton Hugh Ottewell Williā Backstede Thoñs Hobbe<s> Antony Smyth & William Penn gent of thother p<ar>tie’ whereby, the latter parties standing indebted to ‘Phillipp Henchlowe esq, deceassed’ and the said Jacob Meade, for loans and ‘playinge apparell,’ to the extent of £400 and upwards, the said Edward Alleyn covenants to accept in full discharge of the said debt, the sum of £200 on the following terms, namely that the latter parties ‘shall & will dayly & everye daye well & truly satisfye content & paye vnto the said Edward Allen his exeuto<sup>rs</sup> admīstrat<sup>rs</sup> and assignes the ffowerth p<ar>te of all suche soñe and soñes of monny p<ro>ffit & gayne as shalbe gathered or taken by playinge or otherwise out of & for the whole galleryes of the playehowse comonly called the hope scituate in the p<ar>ishe of S<sup>t</sup> Savio<sup>rs</sup> in the countye of Surrey or in anye other howse private or publike wherein they shall playe, as the same shalbe dayly gathered or taken accordinge to the full rate & proporcōn of the gayne and proffitt of the fowerth p<ar>te of the said galleryes vntill the said soñe of 200<sup>l</sup> shalbe there w<sup>th</sup> fully satisfyed & paid’ and further that they ‘shall and will playe at the said howse called the hope, or elsweare w<sup>th</sup> the likinge of the said Edward & Jacob

accordinge to the former Articles of Agreem<sup>t</sup> had & made w<sup>th</sup> the said Phillipp & Jacob  
or eyther of them and their late p<sup>ro</sup>mis synce in that behalfe made w<sup>th</sup> the said  
Edward & Jacob' and the said Edward & Jacob agreeing, furthermore, that the some of  
£200 being duly paid, the latter parties 'shall or maye have to their owne vse all such  
stock of apparell as they or anye of them had or received of or from the said Phillip  
Edward & Jacob or anye of them,' signed: 'william Rowley Robt Pallant Joseph  
Taylor Robt Hamlen John newton Hugh Attwell Will. Barksted Anthony  
Smith T hobbs william penn  
Sealed & deliuered in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of  
Robert Daborne Tho ffoster : Edw : Knight :'

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 90–91; Art. 107)

(077)

Document Type: Correspondence

Date(s): 1616/17

Description: A letter from various members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men to Edward Alleyn.

Transcription:

M<sup>r</sup> Allen, co<sup>m</sup>ende<s>:

S<sup>r</sup> J hope you mistake not o<sup>r</sup> remoouall from the bankes side: we stood the intemperate  
weather, 'till more Intemperate M<sup>r</sup> Meade thrust vs over, taking the day from vs w<sup>ch</sup> by  
course was ours ; though by the time wee can yet claime none, & that power hee  
exacted on vs ; for the prosecution of o<sup>r</sup> further suite in a house wee entreate you to  
forethink well of the place, (though it craue a speedie resolution) lest wee make a  
second fruitlesse paines and as wee purpose to dedicate all o<sup>r</sup> paines powers and  
frende<s> all referent to yo<sup>r</sup> vses; so wee entreate you in the meane time, to looke  
toward o<sup>r</sup> necessityes ; leauing you ever a certaine forme of satisfaction ; wee haue  
neede of some monie (indeed vrdgent necessitie) w<sup>ch</sup> wee rather wish you did heare in  
conference then by report in writing, we haue to receiue from the court (w<sup>ch</sup> after  
shrouetide wee meane to persue w<sup>th</sup> best speede) a great summe of monie, meane while  
if you'le but furnish us w<sup>th</sup> the least halfe, w<sup>ch</sup> will be fourtie pounde<s>; it shall be all  
confirm'd to you till your satisfaction of the fourty what wee can do for yo<sup>r</sup> auaille or  
purpose, wee professe o<sup>r</sup> readiest furtherance and you shall co<sup>m</sup>and it, for w<sup>ch</sup> wee  
entreate this kindnesse from you ; still resting

Jn yo<sup>r</sup> emploimente<s>

frende<s> to their best powers

Robt Pallant

william Rowley  
Joseph Taylor  
John newton  
Robt hamlen  
Hugh Attwell  
Anthony Smyth

[addressed:]

To o<sup>r</sup> worthy and much respected ffrend: M<sup>r</sup> Allen these bee dd /

Source: (Henslowe 1907, 93; Art. 110)

(078)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 April 1616

Description: Payment was made to Alexander Foster for the performance of four plays. The record places Foster with the Prince's Men rather than the Lady Elizabeth's Men but this was at a period when the two companies were seemingly involved in a joint enterprise whilst playing in London. Foster's previous known links were with the Lady Elizabeth's Men; he was named in the financial agreement with Philip Henslowe (ref 085) and had previously received payments from court on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's Men (refs 007; 008). As was usual with court payment the performance probably preceded the actual payment by several months.

Transcription:

To Alexander Foster one of the Princes highnes Players vpon a warraunte signed by the Lord Chamberleyne dated at Whitehall xxix<sup>no</sup> Die Aprilis 1616 in the behalfe of himselfe and the reste of his fellowes for presentinge fower severall playes at fower seaverall tymes before his highnes within the tyme of this Accompte as appeareth by a bill signed by the Lord Chamberleyne xxvj<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 61; item 65b)

(079)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 5 June 1616



Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men arrived in Norwich to play but the company was dismissed and paid by the authorities.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts XI*

...

Item to the Lady Elizabethes servant<sup>es</sup> the v<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1616 vpon their promise to desist from playenge within the libertyes of this Cytty As by warrant xl s

...

Source: (Galloway 1984, 144)

(080)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1616 to 28 September 1617

Description: Civic records at Leominster show that the company was paid at some point during the period 29 September 1616 to 28 September 1617. Again the nature of the bookkeeping means that it is not possible to attribute a specific date to the performance.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Account Book II*

*(Accounts of John Stead, disbursements)*

...

Item to the Erle of Derbyes players v s.

Item to the Lady Elizabeth her players x s.

...

Item to the Erle of Sussex players v s.

...

Source: (Klausner 1990, 148)

(081)

Document Type: Private Household Payment Record

Date(s): 22 October 1616 to 7 February 1617

Description: Having made one visit to Dunkenhalgh Hall in Lancashire during the period 16 November 1615 to 6 February 1616 (ref 075) the company returned later in 1616. The dating of the documents suggests that the company took part in the Christmastide celebrations.

Transcription:

*Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley I*

...

Item Gyven vnto the Ladye Elizabeths men

xxx s.

Source: (George 1991, 186)

(082)

Document Type: Provincial Playing Record

Date(s): 4 June 1617

Description: Travelling companies commonly used copies of original patents to secure their playing rights in provincial towns. This was a practice undertaken by the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The system was open to abuse, and it came to the notice of authorities that several players were presenting documents for which they had no rights. William Herbert, then Lord Chamberlain, tasked Joseph Moore of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, with visiting the provincial playing towns and presenting them with a letter which named the cuplrits using duplicate patents in an effort to stop the practice. The details of the letter were recorded when Townsend presented it in Norwich. It was to the benefit of the Lady Elizabeth's Men that one of their original players had been given this task, and led to them taking the place of the company headed by Robert Lee that purported to be the Queen's Men just a few days later (ref 083).

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

wheras Thomas Swynaerton and Martin Slaughter beinge two of the Queens Maiestes Company of playors hauinge separated themselues from their said Company, haue each of them taken forth a severall exemplification or duplicate of his Maiestes Letters patentes graunted to the whole Company and by vertue thereof they severally in two Companies with vagabondes and such like idle persons, haue and doe vse and exercise the quallitie of playinge in diuerse places of this Realme to 'the' geat abuse and wronge [f] of his Maiestes Subiectes in generall and contrary to the true intent and meaninge of his Maiestie to the said Company And whereas William Perrie haueinge likewise gotten a warrant whereby he and a Certaine Company of idle persons with him doe traviall and

play vnder the name and title of the Children of hir *Maiestes* Revelles, to the great abuse of hir *Maiestes* service And wheras also Gilbert Reason one of the prince his highnes Playors hauing likewise separated himself from his Company hath also taken forth another exemplification or duplicate of the patent granted to that Company, and liues in the same kinde & abuse And likewise one Charles Marshall, Humfry Ieffes and William Parr: therof prince Palatynes Company of Playors haueinge also taken forthe an exemplification or duplicate of the patent graunted to the said Company and by virtue [of] therof liue after the like kinde and abuse wherefore to the end such idle persons may not be suffered to continewe in this Course of life There are [in his] therfore to pray, and neuerthelesse in his *Maiestes* name to will and require you vpon notice giuen of ani(.) of the said persons by the bearer herof Ioseph More whome I haue specialle directed for that purpose that you Call the said parties offenders before you and therevpon take ther said seuerall exemplifications or duplicates or other ther warrant<sup>es</sup> by which they vse ther saide quallitie from them, And forthwith to send the same to me And also that you take goode and sufficient bonds of euery of them to appeare before me at Whitehall at a *prefixt* daye to answeare ther said Contempt<sup>es</sup> and abuses whereof I desire you not to fayle And these shalbe *your* sufficient warrant in that behalfe Dated at the Courte at Therbaldes this 16<sup>th</sup> daye of Iuly in the fowertenth yeare of the raigne of *our* soueraigne Lord the kinges *Maiestie* of England ffranc and Irelande and of Scotland the nine and fortieth 1616

To all Iustices of peace Maior  
Shreiffes Baliffes Constables  
and other his *Maiestes* officers to  
whome it may appertayne,

Penbrook

these *Deliu*erid

this was deliuerid to mr  
maior by Henry Sebeck  
quarto Iunij 1617

Source: (Galloway 1984, 151–52)

(083)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 9 to 11 June 1617

Description: The company was given leave to play in Norwich after another company, headed up by Robert Lee of the Queen's Men, had been dismissed when it presented a fraudulent licence. The company's patent dated 27 April 1611 was presented on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Henry Sebeck. The patent named John Townsend and Joseph Moore, although there is no evidence that they were actually present in Norwich at this time. Lee's company had been given permission to perform at Powels House, an inn otherwise known as the Red Lion.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

This day Henry Sebeck shewed forth to this Court a patent vnder the great Seale of England Teste 27<sup>o</sup> Aprilis Anno 9<sup>o</sup> Regis Iocobi whereby Lycence ys giuen to John Townesend and Ioseph moore sworne Servantes to the Lady Elizabeth with the rest of their Company to play &c, They haue therefore libertie to play for the tyme formerly giuen to Lee & his Company *videlicet* monday Tuseday & wednesday, And the said Lee & his Company are comanded to desist as aforesaid accordinge to the Lord Chamberlyns warrant before mencioned vnles this howse shall take other order to the contrary

Source: (Galloway 1984, 152)

(084)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 11 July 1617

Description: During 1617 James I made a progress to Scotland; this was the only time that he returned to Scotland after he had ascended to the English throne. The Lady Elizabeth's Men was part of the entertainments provided during the progress, as can be seen by payment to John Townsend and Joseph Moore in the court payment records.

Transcription:

To Iohn Townsend and Iosephe Moore Stageplayers vppon the Councelle<s>  
Warraunte dated at Whitehall the xj<sup>th</sup> day of Iuly 1617 for actinge three severall playes  
before his Ma<sup>tje</sup> in his iorney towards Scotlande at the ordenary rates formerly allowed  
xxx<sup>li</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 62; item 75b)

(085)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 11 July 1617

Description: A second record exists for the same payment to John Townsend and Joseph Moore.

Transcription:

Itm' paid to Iohn Townesende and Ioseph Moore Stage players vppon lyke warr': dated att Whitehall xj<sup>o</sup> Die Iulij 1617 for actinge three severall playes before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in his Iournye towards Scotland att the ordynary rates formerlie allowed the some of xxx<sup>li</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 62; item 35b)

(086)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 8 Sept 1617 to 8 Sept 1618

Description: During the period 8 September 1617 to 8 September 1618 the company received remuneration from Folkestone, Kent along with other playing companies, although the Queen's players seem to have been paid in wine. The more specific dates of records from other towns in Kent suggest that the company was in the area during April and May of 1618.

Transcription:

*Wardens' Accounts*

...	
Item to the Queenes players in Wyne	xix d.
...	
Item gyven to the Duke of Lenox men	xij d.
...	
Item to the Lady Elizabeths players	v s.
...	

Source: (Gibson 2002, 589)

(087)

Document Type: Regional Performance Playing Record

Date(s): 12 December 1617

Description: A payment to the company was recorded in Coventry amongst a list of payments to other players and musicians.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewardes to players. /

Gyven to the Queenes Players the Third day of December 1617 as appeareth by  
a bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand xx s.

Gyven to the Lady Elizabeths players the xij.<sup>th</sup> of December 1617 as appeareth by  
an other bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand xl s.

Gyven to the Earle of Shrewsbury players the xx<sup>th</sup> of December 1617 as appeareth  
by a bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand x. s.

Gyven to the Duke of Lenox his Trumpeter and the Marques of Buckingham his  
Trumpeter the Marques of Winchester his Trumpeter the Earle of Shrewsburys  
Trumpeter and the Earle of leicesters Trumpeters the xij.<sup>th</sup> of September 1618 as  
appeareth by a bill vnder *Maister* Maiors handl s

*Summa* vj li.

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 405)

(088)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 18 December 1617

Description: The company received payment to be dismissed at Exeter. The amount paid is equal to sums that the company had received for performances. There was an established pattern of dismissal in Exeter; during 1618 they dismissed the Prince's Men, the King's Men, and two other unidentified companies. The dating of this record and the preceding one for performance at Coventry (ref 087) suggest that there was either an issue with the scribal dating as the distance between the two towns and the difficult travelling conditions existing during the winter would preclude travelling between the two locations within six days; another possibility to explain the unlikeliness of the proximity of the dates is that collection of fees due was not necessarily immediate and may have been undertaken by one person travelling individually rather than with the whole company. The third possibility is that there were two companies travelling under the same name.

Transcription:

*Receivers' Accounts Rolls*

[...]

...

paid gave princes Elizabeth players by mr maiors order to dismys

Source: (Wasson 1986, 188)

li s d

1 2

(089)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1618

Description: *Amends for Ladies*, written by Nathan Field: performance by the Lady Elizabeth's Men is dated to 1611 by Alfred Harbage (1964, 98–99) but the quarto was not published until 1618. Unlike some of the other printed editions of plays within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men this is within the known existence of the company.

Transcription:

Amends for Ladies. | A COMEDIE. | As it was acted at the *Blacke.Fryers*, both by the PRINCES Seruants, and | the Lady ELIZABETHS. | By *Nat. Field.* | *LONDON* | Printed by *G. Eld*, for *Math. Walbanke*, and are to be | sold at his Shop, at the new Gate of *Grayes-Inne*, | or at the old. 1618.

Source: (Field 1618, t.p.)

(090)

Document Type: Private Household Payment Record

Date(s): 19 January 1618

Description: Shortly after Christmas the company made a return visit to the home of the Walmsleys in Dunkenhagh, Lancashire. The dating of the record in the household accounts is very specific and calls into further question the dating of the Exeter dismissal, making the presence of a 'duplicate' company more likely. The likelihood of the company travelling from Coventry, to Exeter, and then back to Dunkenhagh in winter is highly improbable.

Transcription:

*Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2*

...

Gyven my Ladye *Elizabeths* men Ianuarye 19<sup>th</sup> i617

x s.

Gyven my Lord Staffordes men Ianuarye 24<sup>th</sup> i617

v s.

Source: (George 1991, 188)

(091)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 25 March 1618 to 25 March 1619

Description: This payment record from New Romney, Kent record overlaps with the Folkestone record above (ref 086), giving an overlap period that ranges from 25 March 1618 to 8 September 1618, which also ties in with other more specifically dated records for Kent at the same time.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item *paid* to the Lady Elizabeth players

x s.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 809)

(092)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 27 April 1618

Description: The Chamberlain's accounts for Hyde, Kent show a payment made to the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

*Assembly Book and Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item *payed* ye 19 of ffebruary .1617. to ye Earle of Sussex his players by Mr Groves appointment then deputie to *master* maior

x s.

...



Item paid the 27 of Aprill to ye Ladye Elizabethes players by master mayors  
appointment

x s.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 638)

(093)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 16 May 1618

Description: Payment received at Dover, Kent.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item then paid which was geven to the lady Elizabeth her players

0 11 0

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 510)

(094)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 23 May 1618

Description: The company presented a licence, dated 20 March 1617, at Norwich. There is no evidence that this licence had previously been presented anywhere. It does however contain the names of John Townsend and Joseph Moore, the men named on the first licence relating to the company, dated 27 April 1611, and also names Alexander Foster, a signatory to the bond dated 29 August 1611. This is also the first evidential reference to Francis Wambus in connection with the company.

The licence very specifically limits to one the number of companies that may be associated with the Lady Elizabeth. This suggests that there had indeed been a duplicate company touring under the name of the company, as was suggested by the chronological anomalous dismissal at Exeter (088).

The authority of the royal licence was taken seriously and the company allowed to play, but the time allowed was limited to one a week, and the company was not allowed to return within the year; its previous encounters with the authorities in Norwich may well be behind the reasoning for this decision.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books*

...

This day Iohn Towneshend brought A Lycence signed by his Maiestie and vnder his privie Signet Dated the xx<sup>th</sup> day of March 1617 whereby Alexander ffoster Iohn Townsend Ioseph Moore & ffrancis womus servantes to the Lady Elizabeth are lycensed to play in the Citty of London 'r&' by the space of xiiij<sup>en</sup> dayes at any one tyme in the yeare in any other Citty &c And by the same yt ys expressly mencioned that there shalbe but one Company as Servantes to the Lady Elizabeth lycensed or permitted to play./ This Court therefore thinketh fitt that they shall haue liberty to play here by the space of the next whole weke & no longer And they promise to leaue playenge in the end of the weke and not to come agayne to play duringe this whole yeare./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 156)

(095)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 24 June 1618 to 12 September 1618

Description: The company received payment for a performance in Carlisle some time between 24 June and 12 September 1617.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

geauen to me Ladye Elibethe players

xxvj s viij d

Source: (Douglas and Greenfield 1986, 89)

(096)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1618 to 28 September 1619

Description: The Plymouth payment records gives the size of the company as being 20 people, and also refers to a licence signed by the king.

Transcription:

*Receivers' Accounts*

[...]

...

Item given to certeyne Players not being suffred to play xj. s

Item given to the Lady Elizabeth Players being 20.<sup>tie</sup> persons who had the  
Kings hand for playing aswell by night as by day iij li. vj s

Source: (Wasson 1986, 267)

(097)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1619/20

Description: A company referred to as the Queen of Bohemia's Men were paid for performance in Kendal. This predates the establishment of the company that was known as the Queen of Bohemia's Men so must refer to Elizabeth Stuart, but by the title she was known as between November 1619 and 1620.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts 32*

...

more pd to the Queens of bohemia players per mr Alderman 00-10-0

Source: (Douglas and Greenfield 1986, 187)

(098)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 4 Jan 1619

Description: The company received payment for performance in Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewar-des to players.

Given to the Lady Elizabeth her players the ffowerth Day of Ianuary 1618	
as appereth by a Bill vnder <i>Maister</i> Maiors hand	xxxiiij s.
Given to the Lord of Worcesters Musicion the xiiij <sup>th</sup> of lune 1619 as appeareth	
by an other bill	ij s.
Given to the Kinges Seriant of the Trumpeters the xix <sup>th</sup> of August	xxij s.
Given to the Princes players the xxv <sup>th</sup> of October 1619	xx s.
Summa iij li. xvij s.	

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 408)

(099)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 1 May 1619

Description: The company presented its Patent dated 20 March 1617 in Norwich.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

This day Iohn Towneshend & others brought into this Court a Patent signed with his *Maiestes* handes & privy Signet authorisinge him & others the *Servantes* of the Lady Elizabeth to play &c which patent ys teste xx<sup>o</sup> Marcij 1617 /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 158–59)

(100)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1619 to 28 September 1620

Description: The company received payment at Leominster.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts Book 13*

(*Accounts of John Whitstone, disbursements*)

...

Item to the Earle of Derbies players	vj s. viij d.
Item to the Lady Elizabeths players	x s.
Item to players of the Towne by Mr Baylief his appoyntement	xx s.

...

Item to the King of Bohemya his players

x s.

Source: (Klausner 1990, 149)

(101)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 16 Jan 1620 and 23 August 1620

Description: The company played at Ludlow twice in one year; first in January 1619, and then returned to the town in August 1619.

Transcription:

*Bailiffs' and Chamberlains' Accounts*

Given to the Kinges players

ij s. v d.

...

To the Lady Elizabeths players Ianuary 16. 1619:

5

...

to the Lady Elizabeths players August 23

5 s.

Source: (Somerset 1994, 104–5)

(102)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 8 February 1620

Description: The company presented its original patent dated 27 April 1611 when at Norwich. The dating of this patent suggests again that were two companies travelling under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as it had previously presented later documents when travelling to Norwich. By this time Moore had apparently already left the company, but having seemingly acquired a copy of the original licence.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Book XV*

...

This day Ioseph Moore & others brought a patent Teste 27<sup>o</sup> Aprilis Anno Nono Iacobi authorisinge them to play &c And they haue leaue to play till Satterday next./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 161)

(103)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 22 April 1620

Description: The company returned to Norwich where the possibility of a duplicate company arises. On this occasion the patent presented was dated 20 March 1617; it had been presented on two previous occasions in Norwich at 23 May 1618 (ref 094), and 1 May 1619 (ref 099), and by John Townsend on both occasions. On this occasion the absence of John Moore, one of the named patentees, was queried as he was not present. He had been in the city, operating under the name of the company earlier in the year but was now seemingly reported as having left the company within the previous 12 months.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

A Patent vnder his Maiesties privy Signet dated the xx<sup>th</sup> of March 1617 whereby Alexander ffooster Iohn Towneshend Ioseph Moore & ffrancis wamus servantes the Lady Elizabeth with the rest of their Company are authorises to play *Commidies &c* which said Patent was this day brought into Court by the said ffrancis wamus who said that Ioseph Moore ys one of their Company but he hath not played with them this last yeare, & that the said moore nowe kepeth an Inn in Chichester / They are *permitted* to play the ffirst fflower dayes of May and no longer./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 161–62)

(104)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 25 May 1620 to 28 September 1620

Description: The company received payment at Carlisle.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item to the waits of lincolne at mr Maior commande

ij s

...

Item bestowed vpon my lady elizabeth players

xv s

Source: (Douglas and Greenfield 1986, 95)

(105)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1620 to 28 September 1621

Description: Once again John Townsend received payment on behalf of the company in Norwich. The surrounding entries in the accounts books suggest that the performance may have taken place in the new Guildhall although, having been rebuilt in 1534, it could hardly be described as new.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts XI*

[...]

...

Item for fetchinge home of Staginge stuffe from mr Maiors & Henry woodes      iij d

...

Item for carrying Staginge to the newhall and back againe      xij d

...

Item gyven to Toweshend & others of the Lady Elizabeth her Company of players      xl s

Item to Thomas Manton for a new sackbut for Beniamyn Holdernes      iij li. x s

[...]

Source: (Galloway 1984, 164)

(106)

Document Type: Regional Performance Playing Record

Date(s): 30 September 1620 to 25 December 1620

Description: The company received payment in Bristol.

Transcription:

*Mayor's Audits*

...

Item paide to the Ladie Elizabeths players by master  
Mayors appointmentij li. - -  
...

Source: (Pilkinton and Rogerstone 1997, 216)

(107)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 4 October 1620

Description: The company was paid for playing in Hythe, Kent.

Transcription:

*Assembly Book and Chamberlains' Accounts*

...  
Item .4. Octobris to the Ladye Elizabethes players by appointment of master maior &  
the Iurates 0 x s. 0

...  
Item to Thomas Howet his whole yeares wages for ye Drum j li. vj s. viij d.  
...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 639)

(108)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 30 November 1620 to 13 November 1621

Description: The company was paid for playing in Sandwich, Kent.

Transcription:

*Treasurers' Accounts*

(*Mr Dennes payments*)  
paid the king of Bohemias Players xj s.  
...  
paid to the Lady Elsabeth's players xxij s.  
...



Source: (Gibson 2002, 862)

(109)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1621/22

Description: Payment was made to John Townsend as part of the Lady Elizabeth's Men by the civic authorities in Norwich. The date for this payment is not specified but it is a payment for appearing rather than for dismissal.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts XI*

*(Payments by Warrant)...*

Item to Towneshend and other Players of the Lady Elizabeths Company As by  
warrant appeareth

xl s

Source: (Galloway 1984, 168)

(110)

Document Type: Private Household Payment Record

Date(s): 2 January 1621

Description: The company returned to the household of the Walmsleys at Dunkenhalgh. From the dating of the payment it was probably there for the Christmastide festivities.

Transcription:

*Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2*

...

Item Gyven vnto Browne the Pyper

xiiij s. iiij d.

Item Gyven vnto the Lady Elizabeths Players 2<sup>d</sup> of Ianuary 1620

xl s./

...

Item Gyven the pypers

iiij s. viij d.

Source: (George 1991, 191)

(111)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 5 January 1621

Description: The company returned to play at Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlaines' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewards to Players.

Paid *which* was given to William Peadle & other players Dauncers vpon Ropes  
the 29<sup>th</sup> of November last as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand x s.

Paid *which* was given to Martyn Slathier one of the Players of the late Queene  
Elizabeth the 23<sup>th</sup> of December 1620. as appeareth be an other Bill vnder *Maister*  
Maiors hand v s.

Paid *which* was given to the Players of the Lady Elizabeth the v<sup>th</sup> Daie of Ianuary 1620.  
as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors Hand xxij s.

Paid *which* was given to Henry Walker & Iohn Walker who brought the Kinges  
warrant to shewe workes of Arte concerning the Castell of Winsor.the xij<sup>th</sup> of May  
1621 as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand ij s. vj d.

Paid *which* was given to the Wayte Players of the Ladie Grace the 29<sup>th</sup> of Iuly 1621.  
as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand iij s.

Paid *which* was given to the Wayte Players of Newarke the xj<sup>th</sup> of September last  
as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand xvij d.

Paid *which* was given to Gilbert Reason one of the Princes Players who brought a  
Commission wherein himself and others were named the 24<sup>th</sup> of August last as  
appeareth by a Bill vnder *maister* Maiors hand xx s.

Paid *which* was given to the Kinges Seriant Trumpeter and to Tenn more of the  
Kinges Trumpeters the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1621. as appeareth by a Bill vnder *Maister*  
Maiors hand iij li. vj s.

Paid more *which* was given the same daie to the Wayte players of Newarke as  
appeareth by the same Bill vnder *Maister* Maiors hand ij s.

Summa vj li xij s. /

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 411)

(112)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 2 May 1621

Description: The 20 March 1617 patent had been previously presented in Norwich on three occasions; twice by John Townsend, and once by Francis Wambus. On this occasion the same patent was once again presented by Townsend, but due to the absence of any of the other named players the city authorities refused leave for the company to play.

Transcription:

*Mayors Court Books XV*

...

This day Iohn Towneshend brought into this Court A Patent Signed by his *Maiestie* and vnder his *Maiesties* privy Signet dated the xx<sup>th</sup> of March 1617 whereby he with Alexander ffoster Ioseph Moore and ffrancis wamus servants to the lady Elizabeth with the rest of their Company are authorised to play Comodies &c But because none of the said Company but onely the said Towneshend are nowe in Towne And because there are letters lately receiued for musters And that the businesses for Subsedyes & other matters of Importance are not yet fully dispatched Therefore this whole Court refuseth to giue them any leaue to play in this Citty /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 165)

(113)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 11 May 1621

Description: Despite the earlier dismissal recorded in Norwich on 2 May 1621 (ref 112) the company returned to the town, and once again was dismissed. The patent referred to here includes the same clause as the one previously seen that was dated 20 March 1617 which had been presented by John Townsend on several earlier visits to Norwich. The entry in the Mayor's Court book is silent about the reasons for dismissal, but the company's troubled times in Norwich had set up a precedent for dismissal.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Book XV*

This day Towneshend brought a Bill signed by his *Maiestie* authorisinge him & his Company as the Lady Elizabethes players to play in any Citty &c by the space of xiiij<sup>en</sup> Dayes, They are denyed for many reasons alledged vnto them /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 169)

(114)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 1622

Description: Entries from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert name players in the London companies: the King's Men, Prince's Servants, Palsgrave's Servants, Revels company, and the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The company playing at the Phoenix at this time was the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

[...]

The chiefe of them at the Phoenix. Christopher Beeston, Joseph More, Eliard Swanson, Andrew Cane, Curtis Grevill, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner

[...]

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 136; item 5)

(115)

Document Type: Regional Playing Payment Record

Date(s): 31 January 1622 to 4 April 1622

Description: This is the first extant record for the company playing in Congleton. There is no information about where it played but many of the surrounding entries suggest an animal pit, as payments were made to a bearward and for preparing the cockpit.

Transcription:

*Borough Accounts I*

...

Geoven to Iames wiggan beareward by consent of the overseers	iij s. iiij d.
--	----------------

...

Geven to Raphe Shelmerdyne beareward by consent	x s.
---	------

Geven to the ladie Elizabeth her players by consent	x s.
---	------

...

Paid to Robert Wilkinson for worke done at the cocke pitt by consent	v. s. iiij d.
--	---------------

Source: (Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills 2007, 648)

(116)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 7 May 1622

Description: The play *The Changeling* was seemingly licensed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Sir Henry Buc but Bawcutt suggests that this entry erroneously refers to Sir Henry Herbert as he did not start licensing until July 1623 (1996, 136). If this is the case he proposes that the licensor would have been Herbert's predecessor Sir John Astley. An alternative explanation is that the dating of the licence is wrong and that the play was licensed only after Herbert took on the role of Master of the Revels. A dating of July 1623, after Herbert became Master of the Revels would indicate positively that the play was part of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*<Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*> Licensed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeth's servants at the Phoenix, May 7, 1622. by Sir Henry Herbert Master of the Revels.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 136; item 7)

(117)

Document type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 10 May 1622

Description: The now lost play *The Black Lady* was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*A New Play called the *Black Lady*, all<sup>d</sup>. 10 May 1622, by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants I *li*.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 137; item 8)

(118)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 20 May 1622

Description: Note to Thomas Baker and John Basham, Chamberlains of Norwich about payment for dismissal in Norwich. The note is effectively an authorisation from the mayor to the chamberlains to pay the company but it is not clear if this particular payment is for the earlier dismissal, or for a new occasion.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Vouchers*

Theise are to require yow to pay vnto [blank] Towneshend beinge one of the Company of the Lady Elizabeths players the somme of ffourty shillings *which* ys thought fitt to be gyven vnto the said Company for that they will not play within this Cytty / And this shalbe *your* warrant in that behalfe, this xx<sup>th</sup> of May 1622 /

To mr Thomas Baker & Iohn  
Basham Chamberlyns of this Cytty

George Birche Maior  
Peter: Gleane:  
John Mingay

Source: (Galloway 1984, 170)

(119)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 June 1622

Description: The play *The Valiant Scholar* was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*Valiant Schollar, A new P. containing 10 sheets and three pages, alld. 3 June 1622; I<sup>li</sup>.  
Acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 137; item 11)

(120)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 13 July 1622

Description: The company was paid at Lydd in Kent for performing at a fair.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item given the [certaine] ^"Lady Elizabeth" players at the last  
faire by the appointment of *Master* Bayliffe

vj s. viij d.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 710)

(121)

Document Type: Regional Playing Payment Record

Date(s): 24 July 1622

Description: The company was paid for playing at New Romney in Kent.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item *paid* to the Lady Elizabeths Players the 24<sup>th</sup> of luly for a gratuitye  
Item *paid* to the Lord Staffordes Tumblers

v s.

ij s. vj d.

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 811)

(122)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1622 to 28 September 1623

Description: The company performed in Barnstaple in Devon during the period 29 September 1622 to 29 September 1623. The records do not give a precise date.

Transcription:

*Receivers' Accounts*

... And of xxx s geven to the Lady Elizabeths players by master Mayors order ... paid for Candells to hange by a Bull that was not beaten ij d . . .

Source: (Wasson 1986, 50)

(123)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 23 October 1622 to 30 January 1623

Description: The company returned to play in Congleton.

Transcription:

*Borough Accounts I*

...

Bestowed vpon the Ladie Elizabethes players who then shewed their authorytie from the Kinges maiestie and Counsell by consente of the Overseers x s.

Source: (Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills 2007, 649)

(124)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 21 January 1623

Description: After an absence from court playing the company once again performed at court where it presented two plays in front of the king at Whitehall. Alexander Foster was the payee for the company on this occasion. Foster had been one of the predominant players with the company during the years 1616-1622 when it was a touring company with no presence in London. His appearance in London in the position of payee suggests that he had now taken on a leading role within the company as it returned to commercial playing in London under the stewardship of Christopher Beeston at the Cockpit/Phoenix.

Transcription:

To Alexander Foster in the behalfe of himselfe and his fellowes vppon a warr<sup>t</sup> dated xxj<sup>mo</sup> Ianuarij 1622 for presentinge of twoe seuerall playes before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> xx<sup>li</sup>



Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 77; item 162b)

(125)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 24 January 1623

Description: The company returned to play at Coventry. The payment appears amongst a list of payments made to various entertainers throughout the year indicating the range of entertainments available in larger towns such as Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewards to Players.

Paid which was given to Gilbert Reason and William Eaton players to the Prince his highnes the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of december. 1622. as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

xx s.

Paid which was given vnto the Players of the Lady Elizabeth the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of lanuary 1622 as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

xiiij s. iiij d.

Paid which was given to Martin Slathier and others players of the late Queene Elizabeth as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand

v s.

Paid which was given to Nottingham Trumpeters the xij<sup>th</sup> of december 1622. xviiij d. and more given the same day to two Companyes of Musicions of other places. xviiij d. as appereth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

iiij s.

Paid which was given to the Weightes of Worcester the ix<sup>th</sup> of May 1623. xij d. and more the same Daie to the Weightes of Pomfret xij d. as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

ij s.

Paid to the Weightes of Gloucester as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

xij d

Paid to the Weightes of Maxfeild the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of May. 1623.

xij d

Paid to the Musicions of Lichfeild the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of May 1623.

xij d.

Paid to the Weightes of Lincoln the x<sup>th</sup> of lune 1623.

xij d.

Paid to the ffencers the xxv<sup>th</sup> of luly 1623. whoe fenced on St lames his night

xij d.

Paid to the Kinges Trumpeters the vj<sup>th</sup> of August 1623

v s./

Paid which was given to William Wood a player of the Revells the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> of August 1623 as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

ij s vj d

Paid to the Trumpeters of the Earle of Oxford the xviiij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1623. as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand.

ij s

Paid to the Weightes of Derby and Newarke the xx<sup>th</sup> of September 1623. as appeareth by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand

ij s.

Paid which was given to the kinges players for bringing xx Bristow youthes

in Musick the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of September 1623.

xv s.

Paid which was given to the Lord Staffordes Trumpeters the xv<sup>th</sup> of October 1623.

xij d

*Summa* iij li. xv s. x d.

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 416–17)

(126)

Date(s): 24 March 1623

Description: Performance at Lydd. Andrew Gurr suggests that the transcription of ‘princes’ is an abbreviation for princess rather than a possessive form of Prince (1996, 407). The company had been paid for a performance in Lydd the previous year (ref 120).

Transcription:

‘the players of the late Queene and the princes’

Source: (Gurr 1996, 407)

(127)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 10 May 1623

Description: The company was given permission to play in Norwich for four days only.

Transcription:

*Mayors’ Court Books XV*

...

This day ffrancis wambus brought into this Court A Patent Signed by his *Maiestie* vnder his highnes privie Signet Dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1621 whereby Iohn Towneshend Alex ffoster Iospeh Moore & the said wambus *servantes* to the Lady *Elizabeth* with the rest of their Company are authorised to play *Commodies &c* by the space of xiiij<sup>en</sup> dayes / They haue leaue for fower dayes onely this next weke & no longer for many reasons alledged /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 175)

(128)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 9 July 1623

Description: Licensing of *The Spanish Gypsy* performed at the Phoenix. Details of this were noted by Malone on his own copy of the play [Bodleian Mal 246(8)].

Transcription:

\*<Middleton and Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy*> Acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants at the Phoenix July 9, 1623:- as appears by the Office Book of Sir Henry Herbert then Master of the Revels.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 141; item 35)

(129)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 21 August 1623

Description: *Match me in London*, an old play by Thomas Dekker previously linked to the Queen Anne's Men, was licensed for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*<For the Lady Elizabeth's Servants of the Cockpit>  
An Old Play called Matche mee in London formerley allowed by Sir George Buck & now by mee freely & without fee this 21<sup>st</sup>. Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1623.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 143; item 47) (Chambers 1923, 214)

(130)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 23 August 1623

Description: Henry Shirley's play *The Martyred Soldier* was called back by the Master of the Revels because the company had failed to implement reformatations for which he had called.

Transcription:

\*This was done by the La: Elizabeths servants att the Cockpitt—An olde Playe called the Martir'd Soldier formerlye allowed by Sir John Ashlye but called in & reallowed with reformatations: which were not observed, for to every cross they added a stet of theire owne & for this cause I have thought fitt to peruse itt & to keep the booke for a president to the office and to take my fee this 23<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1623.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 143; item 49)

(131)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 26 August 1623

Description: The play *Escapes of Jupiter* was taken by some sharers leaving the company. It was allowed to be taken to the new company by the Master of the Revels as there were no complaints from those sharers remaining at the Cockpit. Previous entries, also dated in August 1623 (ref 12) refer to the players of the Cockpit as the Lady Elizabeth's Men; just a few days later the 'company of the Cockpitt' must still be the Lady Elizabeth's Men and they must have been the play's original company.

Transcription:

\*An olde Playe called the Escapes of Jupiter taken from the Cockpitt upon the remove of some of the sharers & because they had payde their parts thogh itt hath byn acted in the Kings house I have allowed of itt this 26<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1623 – 1<sup>li</sup> –

It was not complained of by the company of the Cockpitt and that moved mee likewyse to allowe of itt.

I had not allowed of itt but that the Cockpitt gave way & that they have byn sharers therin some of them.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 143; item 50)

(132)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 12 September 1623

Description: This is the only extant evidence to suggest that the Lady Elizabeth's Men ever played at the Red Bull. The timing is unusual as it seems the company was firmly situated at the Phoenix at this point in time. Bawcutt suggests that this last sentence is in fact a scribal error as it makes more sense when attached to the following item in the Office Book about John Day's play *Come See a Wonder*. This would then leave the William Bonen play as a play belonging to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, but in all likelihood played at the Phoenix and not at the Red Bull.

Transcription:

\*For the lady Eliz.<sup>s</sup> Players.

A new Comedy called the Cra Marchant <or come to my Cuntry> houss  
contayninge 9 sheetes may bee acted <this 12<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1623> Written by  
William Bonen

It was acted at the Red Bull & licensed without <my hande to itt because> they were none of the forer companys

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 144–5; item 55)

(133)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 30 October 1623

Description: An entry in Herbert's Office Book refers to Edward Shakerley of the Cockpit company giving a Christmas gratuity to the Master of the Revels. The Cockpit company at this time was the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*Oct. 30<sup>th</sup> 1623. Gratuity—M<sup>r</sup>. Shakerlye brought mee with a note of Playes for Christmas as a gratuitye from the Cockpit companye 2<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 146; item 65)

(134)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 5 November 1623

Description: A play called *The Spanish Gypsy* was performed at Whitehall in front of Prince Charles. It is generally assumed that this play is the *Spanish Gypsy* by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, both of whom had written earlier plays for the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, The Gipsye, by the Cockpitt company.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 146; item 67)

(135)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 December 1623

Description: Philip Massinger's play *The Noble Bondman* was licensed to the company known as the Queen of Bohemia's Men by the Office of the Revels. Lady Elizabeth Stuart was known as the Queen of Bohemia after her husband Frederick accepted the throne of Bohemia in November 1619, but it was a short-lived reign which ended in November 1620.

Transcription:

\*The *Noble Bondman*, written by Ph. Massinger, Gent. all<sup>d</sup> 3 Dec. 1623 to the Queen of Bohemia's Company r<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 147; item 70)

(136)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 27 December 1623

Description: Following the licensing of *The Noble Bondman* the play was performed at court in front of Prince Charles. The company attribution in the records is to the Queen

of Bohemia's Men rather than to the Lady Elizabeth's Men. St John's night refers to the feast of St John the Evangelist on 27 December.

Transcription:

\*Upon St. John's night, the prince only being there, The Bondman, by the queene <of Bohemia's> company. Att Whitehall.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 147; item 74)

(137)

Date(s): 6 January 1624

Description: A licence was granted to the company known as The Queen of Bohemia's Men to play *Greene's Tu Quoque*. At this point in time the company appears to be known interchangeably by both names.

Transcription:

\*Upon Twelve night, the Masque being putt of, and the prince only there, Tu Quoque, by the Queene of Bohemias servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 160; item 143)

(138)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 2 February 1624 to 1625

Description: The company received payment for performance in Hythe in Kent.

Transcription:

*Assembly Book and Chamberlains' Accounts*

...

Item payed to master maior which he gave the Lady Elizabeth her players 0 vj s. 0

Item to him which he gave the Princes Players 0 v s. 0

Item to him which he gave the kinges players 0 ij s. 0

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 640)

(139)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 11 February 1624

Description: The company resident at the Cockpit were licensed to play *Love's Tricks*.

Transcription:

\*The Cock: comp: A new P. call. Love Tricks with comp<sup>ts</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. Feb: 1624.   1<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 161; item 149)

(140)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 March 1624

Description: John Townsend and Alexander Foster were granted a licence for performing. They were both members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

\*Itt determins the 3<sup>d</sup> March 1624. A license to John <Townshend, Alexander> Foster & in confirmation of their patent for a year after <the date herof this> 2<sup>d</sup>. March 1623  
—£3:1<sup>s</sup>: 0<sup>d</sup>

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 149; item 84)

(141)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 March 1624

Description: Thomas Dekker's *The Sun's Darling* was licensed to the company at the Cockpit. There is some ambiguity about whether this means the Lady Elizabeth's Men



or the Queen of Bohemia's Men. The fact that the patron of both is one and the same person allows for this ambiguity.

Transcription:

\**Sun's Darling*, in the Nature of a Masque, by Decker and Forde, all<sup>d</sup> to Cockpit Comp<sup>y</sup>. 3 March 1623-4   *ili*.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 149; item 85)

(142)

Document Type: Company License

Date(s): 9 March 1624

Description: John Townsend, Joseph Moore, and Alexander Foster, all original patentees of the Lady Elizabeth's Men were given a one year licence to play by the Revels Office. No name is given to the company for which this is issued.

Transcription:

\*A license to John Townsend, Joseph Moore and Foster <in confirmat: of their> pattent for a year after the date herof 9<sup>th</sup> March 1624. <3.<sup>li</sup>.>

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 161; item 150)

(143)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 12 March 1624

Description: *The Noble Bondman* previously associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men (ref 135) was allowed for printing.

Transcription:

\*For the press—The Noble Bondman was allowed for the press this 12<sup>th</sup> March 1623.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 149; item 88)

(144)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 12 March 1624

Description: The title page for Philip Massinger's play *The Noble Bondman*. The play was allowed for printing on 12 March 1624 (ref 143) having been performed earlier at court (Astington 1999, 255). Whilst the entry in the Office Book gives the company as the Queen of Bohemia's Men the title page recognises the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the playing company.

Transcription:

THE | BOND-MAN: | AN | ANTIENT STORIE. | As it hath been often Acted with good  
| allowance, at the Cock-pit in *Drury-lane*: | by the most Excellent Princesse, the Lady |  
ELIZABETH her | Seruants. | By *Phillip Masinger*. | LONDON. | Printed by *Edw: Allde*,  
for *Iohn Harison* and | *Edward Blackmore*, and are to be sold at the great | South dore of  
Pauls. | 1624.

Source: (Massinger 1624, t.p.)

(145)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 20 March 1624

Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men received a gratuity in Dover.

Transcription:

\*(*Dover*) Itm' then p<sup>d</sup> [him] for ye like given as a gratuity vnto the Players of  
the Lady Elizabeth having also his Ma<sup>tes</sup> lycence, & the mr of Revells his  
Confirmacon 0—10—0

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 150; item 90)

(146)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 17 April 1624

Description: A licence was granted for Philip Massinger's play *The Renegado*.

Transcription:

\*For the Cockpit company

The Renegado or the Gentleman of Venice by Messinger this 17<sup>th</sup> Apr 1624.      1<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 151; item 97)

(147)

Document Type: Court Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 17 April 1624

Description: Court payment to Christopher Beeston on behalf of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

Transcription:

To Christopher Beeston one of the Lady Eliz' Plaiers vpon a warr<sup>t</sup> dated ix<sup>no</sup> Aprilis 1624 for himselfe and his fellows in presenting three plaies before his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in December and Ianuary 1623      xxx<sup>li</sup>

Source: (Cook and Wilson 1961, 78; item 175b)

(148)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 17 April 1624

Description: The company received payment at Dover.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' Accounts*

Item then paid [him] for the like given as a gratuity vnto the players of the lady Elizabeth havinge also his Ma<sup>i</sup>estes lycence, & the master of Revells his Confirmacion  
0 10 0

...

Source: (Gibson 2002, 516)

(149)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 24 April 1624

Description: Francis Wambus of the Lady Elizabeth's Men presented a patent dated 20 March 1621 in Norwich. The city authorities produced a letter dated 27 May 1623 which gave them permission to disallow playing in the city. Wambus took exception to this and vowed that the company would play as they held the King's authority to do so.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

This day ffrancis wambus brought into this Court A Bill signed with his Maiesties hand & vnder his hignes privie Signet authorisinge Iohn Towneshend Alexander ffoster Ioseph Moore & the said ffrancis wambus Servantes to the Lady Elizabeth to play Interludes &c Dated the xx<sup>th</sup> day of March 1621 & in the xix<sup>th</sup> yeare of his hignes Reigne wherevpon there was shewed forth vnto him the Letters directed from the Lordes of his maiesties most honourable privie Counsell Datedthe 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1623 whereby mr maior & Iustices of peace are authorised & required not to suffer any players to shewe or exercise any playes within this City or liberties herof, wherevpon the said wambus peremptorily affirmed that he would play in this City & would lay in prison here this Tweluemoneth but he would try whether the kinges Command or the Counselles be the greater And this entry beinge redd vnto him hee sayd he denyed nothinge of that was here sett downe And therevpon the said wambus was accordinge to the Counselles order Comanded to forbear to play within the liberties of this City And he neuertheles answered that he would make tryall what he might doe by the kinges authority for he said he would play./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 180–81)

(150)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 26 April 1624

Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men was discovered to be planning a performance of the *Spanish Contract* at a local inn. This was in direct opposition to the order from the city authorities to desist from playing. Francis Wambus was jailed by the authorities.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

This day wakefild haueinge brought to mr Maior a note *which* he found fastened vpon the gate of the howse of Thomas Marcon beinge the Signe of the white horse nere Tomeland in Norwich wherein was written theise wordes, Here *within* this place at one of the Clocke shalbe Acted an excelent *new* Comedy Called the Spanishe Contract By the Princesse Servantes / vivat Rex / Wherevpon mr Maior caused the seuerall persons named in the Instrument shewed forth on Saterdag last namely Iohn Towneshend Alexander ffoster Ioseph Moore & ffrancis wambus to be warned forthwith to appeare before him & the other Iustices of peace before mencioned And the officer namely Henry Paman returned that he could speake *with* no more of the said Company then onely the said ffrancis wambus who onely appeared, and saide confidently that he & his Company would play the Comedy aforesaid And beinge demanded whether the bill *nowe* shewed vnto him conteining the wordes aforesaid was his handwrichtinge or not, he saide yt was his handwrichtinge & that he caused yt to be set yp this day / And the Counselles order beinge againe redd vnto him hee sayde he would play whatsoeuer had bene saide to the contrary & accused mr Maior to his face that he contemned the kynges authority, & when yt was told him that the order of the Counsell was the kynges authority he said notwithstandinge that he would play, and taxed mr Maior very falsely & scandalusly *with* vntruthes & beinge demanded to finde suerties | for his good behaviour he said he would finde none wherevpon he was Committed vntill he should finde suerties for his appearance at the next Sessions of the peace to be holden for the County of this City & in the meane tyme to be of good behaviour, or otherwise vntill further order shalbe receiued from the Lordes of his *Maiesties* most honourable privie Counsell concerninge him the said wambus /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 181)

(151)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 24 April 1624

Description: Francis Wambus was denied a discharge from jail.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

This day mr Maior & Iustices of peace of this City here assembled did offer to ffrancis wambus who was Committed vpon the 24<sup>th</sup> of Aprill last vtill he should finde suerties for his good behaviour that insasmuch as he beinge a Stranger in this City could not readily finde baile That therefore he might be dischardged vpon his owne bond for his appearance at the next Sessions of the peace to be holden after St Michael next, And mr Maior beinge further moved by mr Rosse in the behalfe of the said wambus that because he the said wambus seemed very desirous of inlargement that therefore he might be enlarged without any bond for further appearance, the said wambus before any answer giuen therevnto by mr [(<...>)] Maior desired that he might haue tyme of deliberacion therin till the comeinge of his fellowe Towneshend *which* should be this afternoone /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 181–82)

(152)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 26 April 1624

Description: The keeper of Norwich jail was directed to release Francis Wambus and William Bee of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. William Bee had not been previously mentioned in the proceedings.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

This day a warrant was deliuered to Richard Buller directed to the keeper of the gaole for the discharge of ffrancis wambus and william Bee signed by mr Maior mr Blossse mr Myngay mr Rosse & mr Birch./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 182)

(153)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): June 1624

Description: Francis Wambus produced a letter from Henry Herbert from June 1624 ordering that he be released.

Transcription:

(*Norwich*) This day mr wambus shewed forth a Letter from S<sup>r</sup> Henry Hobart Dated in Iune last purportinge that yt was my Lo Chamblyns pleasure that he should be set at liberty And should giue his owne security for payment of his Chardges in the beginninge of August followinge

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 156; item 123)

(154)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1 to 28 July 1624

Description: The Lady Elizabeth's Men received payment for performance at Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewardes to Players.

Paid which was given to [the] xj. of the Kinges Trumpeteres the xxj <sup>th</sup> of August last as appeareth by a Bill vnder Maiores hand	iiij li.
Paid which was given to fower of the Princes Trumpeters in August last as appeareth by a Bill vnder Maister Maiores hand	xl s.
Paid which was given to the Lady Elizabethes Playeres in Iuly last as appeareth by an other Bill vnder Maister Maiores hand	xij s.
Paid which was given to Bartholomew Cloys being allowed by the Maister of the Revells for shewing a Musicall Organ with divers strang and rare Motions in September last as appeareth by a Bill vnder Maister Maiores hand	v s.
Paid to fower Trumpeters of the Revells as appeareth by a Bill vnder Maister Maiores hand	v s.
Summa vij li. xij s.	

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 419)

(155)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 September 1624

Description: The company resident at the Cockpit were licensed to play *The Captives*, a play by Thomas Heywood.

Transcription:

\*The Cockp: Comp:— A new P: call: the Captive or the lost recovered written by Hayward this 3<sup>d</sup> Sept. 1624—I<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 155; item 119)

(156)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 18 September 1624

Description: This court record refers to the letter from Sir Henry Herbert described earlier (ref 153).

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

This day mr wambus shewed forth a Letter from Sir Henry Hobart Dated in Iune last purportinge that yt was my *Lord Chamberlyns* pleasure that he should be set at liberty And should giue his owne security for payment of his Chardges in the begininge of August followinge And the gaoler beinge here in Court saith that vpon his receipt of the warrant for dischardginge of the said wambus & of Bee he the said gaoler was contented to dischardge them ffor he saide mr Towneshend had giuen his word to pay the Chardges, And the said wambus & mr Towneshend beinge here in Court desired recompence for the imprisonment of wambus to whome yt was answered that yf they had occasion to depart this City before wednesday next mr Maior would call a meetinge this afternoone, wherevnto they replied, they were willinge to stay till wednesday /

Source: (Galloway 1984, 182)

(157)

Document Type: Legal Proceedings

Date(s): 25 September 1624



Description: John Townsend and Francis Wambus complained about the treatment they received in Norwich. The authorities refused to pay them any compensation.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XV*

...

This day mr wambus & mr Towneshend players came into this Court & compleyned of wronges done to the said wambus and Bee by their Imprisonment and desired to haue satisfaction for their Chardges, And because yt was remembred & conceiued that what was done concerninge them was by consent of the whole Court and that nothinge was done any way iniurious to them but that their imprisonment was occasioned by their owne miscarriage, therefore yt was by generall consent agreed that nothinge should be gyven vnto them in that respect./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 182–83)

(158)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1624 to 28 September 1625

Description: The company was paid to leave Lyme Regis without playing. The previous entry refers to the proclamation of Charles so the appearance of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in the town would have been after 27 March 1625.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Accounts*

...

Given to the Lady Elizabeths Players to departe the Towne without playing v s.

Source: (Conklin Hays et al. 1999, 223)

(159)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 29 September 1624 to 28 Sept 1625

Description: The company received payment for performance at Worcester.

Transcription:

*City Accounts 2*

...

Item they are allowed the money *which* the last yeare by Master Maiors appointent the did give to Players videlicet

To the kinges Revelers

xv s.

To kinge Charles his servants when he was Prince –

xiiij s. iiij d.

To the Ladie Elizabeths servantes

x s.

Source: (Klausner 1990, 454)

(160)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 14 Oct 1624

Description: The company resident at the Cockpit were licensed to play *The City Nightcap*, a play by Robert Davenport.

Transcription:

\*For the Cockp: comp: A new P. call: The city Nightcap writt: by Damport 14 Oct. 1624. I<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 156; item 125)

(161)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 14 October 1624

Description: Title page of Robert Davenport's play *The City Night Cap*. This is attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Alfred Harbage (Harbage 1964, 118–19).

Transcription

City-Night-Cap: | OR, | *Crede quod habes, & habes.* | A | Tragi-Comedy. | By *Robert Davenport* | [*First Edition*] | As it was Acted with great Applause, | by Her Majesties Servants, at | the Phœnix in *Drury Lane*. | LONDON: | Printed by *Ta: Cottrel*, for *Samuel Speed*, at the Signe of the | Printing-Press in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. 1661.

Source: (Davenport 1661, t.p.)

(162)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 3 November 1624

Description: The play *The Parliament of Love* was licensed for the company resident at the Cockpit.

Transcription

\*For the Cock: comp: A new P. call: The Parlam<sup>t</sup>. of love writt. by Massinger  
3<sup>d</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1624.                      1<sup>li</sup>.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 157; item 132)

(163)

Document Type: Manuscript Edition of Play

Date(s): 8 February 1625

Description: The last sheet of the manuscript of *The Honest Man's Fortune* contains a licence in the hand of Henry Herbert. The missing name is supplied by the companion entry in Herbert's own records (ref 164). This manuscript is thought to be a copy of the original.

Transcription:

This Play, being an olde One and the Originall Lost was reallowd by mee. This. 8.  
febru. 1624 Att the Intreaty of M<sup>r</sup><Taylor>

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 160, item 148b); (Fletcher 1613, fol. 34v)

(164)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 8 February 1625

Description: A record of the licence of the play was also recorded in Herbert's records confirming the entry in the manuscript and also the name of Taylor which was damaged in the original manuscript.

Transcription:

\*For the Kgs comp: an olde P. call: The honests (*sic*) mans fortune the original being lost was reallocated by me att M<sup>r</sup>. Taylors intreaty & on condition to give me a booke 8<sup>th</sup>. Feb:1624. The Arcadia

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 160; item 148a)

(165)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 1 April 1625

Description: The company received payment at Faversham.

Transcription:

*Town Accounts*

...

Item paid to the Lady Elizabeth Players. beeing heere when our Kinge was proclaymed for the Play and Trumpettes

01 02 00

Source: (Gibson 2002, 571)

(166)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date(s): 28 December 1625

Description: *Cupid's Revenge* was performed in front of the prince at Whitehall. The company referred to is the Queen of Bohemia's Men.

Transcription:

\*Upon Innocents night, the <prince> and the duke of Brunswyck being there, Cupids Revenge, by the Queen of Bohemia's Servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 159; item 138)

(167)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 27 June 1629

Description: Elais Guest received payment on behalf of a company at Norwich. He is linked to this company through the names of Joseph Moore, Alexander Foster, and John Townsend, all past members of the Lady Elizabeth's Men but now refers to as 'sworn servants to the king' suggesting that the Lady Elizabeth's Men was by this time moribund and that the payers had moved to a new company. This record is for a dismissal rather than for a performance.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XVI*

...

This day Elias Guest one of the Company of Ioseph Moore Alexander ffoster Robert Gylman & Iohn Towneshend sworne servant<sup>es</sup> to the Kinge brought into this Court a warrant signed with his Maiesties privie signett & a lycence from the Master of the Revelles dated the eight day of this instant Iune whereby they are lycensed to play Comedies &c The said Elias affirmed that the residue of his Company are still at Thetford wherevpon he did Consent to accept such a gratuety as this Court should thinke fitt to give And therevpon this Court did thinke fitt to giue him & his Company a gratuety of fforty shilling<sup>es</sup> which hee thankfully accepted./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 201)

(168)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1630

Description: A 1630 printed edition of Thomas Middleton's play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* shows that the play had been previously acted at the Swan playhouse by the

Lady Elizabeth's Men. The likely performance date of the play is given by Alfred Harbage as 1611-13 (1964, 98–99)

Transcription:

A | CHASTMAYD | *IN* | CHEAPE-SIDE. | A | Pleasant conceited Comedy | neuer before printed. | As it hath beene often acted at the | Swan on the Banke-side, by the | Lady ELIZABETH her | *Servants*. | [*First Edition*] | By THOMAS MIDDLETON Gent. | *LONDON*, | Printed for *Francis Constable* dwelling at the | signe of the *Crane* in *Pauls* | Church-yard. | 1630.

Source:

(Middleton 1630, t.p.)

(169)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1630

Description: Philip Massinger's play *The Renegado* was printed in 1630. The play was licensed for on 17 April 1624 (ref 145)

Transcription:

THE | RENEGADO, | A *TRAGÆ COMEDIE*. | As it hath beene often acted by the | Queenes Maiesties Servants, at | the priuate Play-house in | *Drurye-Lane*. | By PHILIP MASSINGER. | *LONDON*, | Printed by A.M. for *Iohn Waterson* | and are to be sold at the *Crowne* in | *Pauls Church-Yard*. 1630.

Source: (Massinger 1630, t.p.)

(170)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 3 March 1630

Description: The company was given leave to play in Norwich after Joseph Moore presented a patent dated 15 December 1616.

Transcription:

*Mayors' Court Books XVI*

...

This day Ioseph Moore and others of his Company brought into this Court a warrant signed with his *Maiesties* privie Signett Dated the xv<sup>th</sup> of December in the 4<sup>th</sup> yeare of his *Maiesties* Reign whereby they are lycnced to play Comedies &c They haue leaue to play &c for two dayes next ensuing./

Source: (Galloway 1984, 204)

(171)

Date(s): 1630-1

Description: The company received payment from Congleton Town Council.

Transcription:

*Borough Accounts I*

...

Bestowed vpon the Ladye Elizabeths players by Consentt x s.

Source: (Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills 2007, 656)

(172)

Document Type: Private Household Payment Record

Date(s): 19 July 1630

Description: Payment was made to a company that called itself the Lady Elizabeth's Men for performance at Dunkenhalgh. This is probably the last record of playing career of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, if indeed the record reliably relates to the company.

Transcription:

*Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 10*

...

giuen a sorte of Players which tearmet them selves the lady Elizabethes players for playinge one night xx s.

Source: (George 1991, 200)

(173)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1631

Description: *Match Me in London* by Thomas Dekker was written for the Lady Elizabeth's Men whilst they were at the Phoenix in Drury Lane but it was not printed until 1631. The company's name does not appear on the title page.

Transcription:

A | TRAGI-COMEDY: | Called, | *Match mee in LONDON.* | As it hath beene often Presented; First, | at the *Bull* in St. IOHNS-street; And lately | at the Priuate-House in DRVRY-Lane, | called the PHOENIX | *Si non, Hu vtere Mecum,* | Written by THO : DEKKER. | LONDON. | Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET, for H. SEILE, | at the *Tygers-head* in S<sup>t</sup>. *Pauls Church-* | yard. 1631.

Source: (Dekker 1631, t.p.)

(174)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1631

Description: The title page of Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* gives the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the playing company and the year of performance. Whilst the play was first performed on 31 October 1614 the quarto edition was not printed until 1631.

Transcription:

BARTHOLOMEW | FAYRE: | A COMEDIE, | ACTED IN THE | YEARE, 1614, | By the Lady ELIZABETHS | SERVANTS. | And then dedicated to King IAMES, of | *most Blessed Memorie*; | By the Author, BENIAMIN IOHNSON. | *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus: nam | Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsus, | Vt sibi præbentem, mime spectacular plura. | Scriptores autem narrare putaret assello | Fabellam furdo.* | Hor.lib.2.Epist.1. | LONDON, | Printed by I.B. for ROBERT ALLOT, and are | to be sold at the signe of the *Beare*, in *Pauls* | Church-yard. 1631

[If he were on earth Democritus would laugh: for he himself were in attendance on the people of the Lundis, that I may be being the first founders, a mime, a sight for many other things. Writers are supposed to tell assello Fabellam Ford]



Source: (Jonson 1631, t.p.)

(175)

Document Type: Text from Play Edition

Date(s): 1631

Description: From the text of *Bartholomew Fair* (performed 1614 but not published until 1631) indicating that Nathan Field was considered an accomplished and renowned actor.

Transcription:

COK. I thanke you for that, Master *Littlewit*, a good jest! Which is your *Burbage* now?

LAN. What meane you by that, Sir?

COK. Your best *Actor*, Your *Field*?

Source: (Jonson 1631, L1v)

(176)

Document Type: Regional Performance Payment Record

Date(s): 30 March 1631

Description: The company received payment for performance in Coventry.

Transcription:

*Chamberlains' and Wardens' Account Book II*

Rewards to players

Paid given to the Musitions of the Earle of Essex the 14 <sup>th</sup> of ffebruary last	ij s vj d
Paid given to the Waits in Rippon in Yorkshire the 17 <sup>th</sup> of May last	ij s
Paid given to an other Companie of Waite plaiers called Worcester Waites the 24 <sup>th</sup> of Maie last	ij s vj d
Paid given to another Companie of Musitions the 15 <sup>th</sup> of Iune last	xvj d
Paid given to the Waites of New Market the 14 <sup>th</sup> of Iuly last	ij s
Paid given to the Waites of Derby the first of August last	ij s vj d
Paid given to the Waites of Nottingham the 30 <sup>th</sup> of August last	ij s
Paid given to the Kinges Trumpettors the 17 <sup>th</sup> of October last	iiij s

Paid given to Robert Knipton & Iohn Carre players of the Revells the 23 <sup>th</sup> of September last as appeareth by a bill	x s
Paid given to Ioseph more Iohn Townesend & other players to the Ladie Elizabeth the 30 <sup>th</sup> of March last by a Bill	xx s
Paid given to the Musitions of the Earle of Rutland . the 27 <sup>th</sup> of November 1630 by a bill vnder Maister Maiors hand	ij s
Summa xlix s x d	

Source: (R. W. Ingram 1981, 431)

(177)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1633

Description: William Rowley's play *All's Lost by Lust* has been attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men by Alfred Harbage with a probable performance date of 1619 (1964, 110–11). The play was published in 1633 and the title page gives the Lady Elizabeth's Men as the first playing company.

Transcription:

A | TRAGEDY | CALLED | ALLS LOST | BY | LVST. | Written by *William Rowley*. |  
*Divers times Acted by the Lady Elizabeths* | SERVANTS. | And now lately by her Maiesties  
 Servants, with | great applause, at the *Phoenix* In *Drury Lane*. | *Quod non dant*  
*Proceres, Dabit Histrio*: | LONDON: | Printed by THOMAS HARPER, 1633.  
 [that do not give the nobles, he will give the stage]

Source: (Rowley 1633, t.p.)

(178)

Document Type: Records of the Revels Office

Date (s): 11 May 1633

Description: The Fletcher play *The Night Walkers* previously in the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men was registered to the Queen's Men.

Transcription:

\*For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11 May, 1633, £2. 0. 0. For the queen's players.

Source: (Bawcutt 1996, 179; item 255)

(179)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1639

Description: John Fletcher's play *Monsieur Thomas* has been dated to 1615 and tentatively attributed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men (Harbage 1964, 104–5) but was not published until 1639.

MONSIEVR | THOMAS. | A | COMEDY. | Acted at the Private House in | *Blacke Fryers*. | The Author. | IOHN FLETCHER. | *Gent.* | LONDON, | Printed by *Thomas Harper*, for *Iohn Waterson*, and are | to be sold at his shop in *Pauls Church-yard*, | at the signe of the Crowne: | 1639.

Source: (Fletcher 1639, t.p.)

(180)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1640

Description: *The Night Walkers*, written by John Fletcher: performance attributed to Lady Elizabeth's Men by Alfred Harbage with performance dated to 1611 (1964, 98–99).

Transcription:

THE | NIGHT-WALKER, | or the | LITTLE THEIFE. | A COMEDY, | As it was presented by her | Majesties Servants, at the Private | House in *Drury Lane*. | Written by *John Fletcher*. *Gent.* | LONDON, | Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Andrew Crooke*, | and *William Cooke*: 1640.

Source: (Fletcher 1640, t.p.)

(181)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1653

Description: Title page for 1653 quarto printing of Thomas Middleton's *The Changeling* shows that it was performed by the company resident at the private house in Drury Lane. The play was licensed for performance by the Lady Elizabeth's Men on 7 May 1622 (ref 116).

Transcription:

THE | CHANGELING: | As it was Acted (with great Applause) | at the Privat house in DRURY LANE, | and *Salisbury Court*. | Written by | {THOMAS MIDDLETON | and | WILLIAM ROWLEY.} Gent'. | *Never Printed before*. | LONDON, | Printed for HUMPHREY MOSELY, and are to | be sold at his shop at the sign of the *Princes-Arms* | in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1653.

Source: (Middleton 1653, t.p.)

(182)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1653

Description: Title page of *The Spanish Gypsy* showing it was played by the resident company at the Phoenix. We know from the records of the Revels Office that the play was licensed to the Lady Elizabeth's Men on 9 July 1623 (ref 128). The play was not printed until 1653.

Transcription:

THE | SPANISH | GIPSIE. | As it was Acted (with great Applause) | at the Privat House in DRURY-LANE, | and *SALISBURY COURT*. | Written by {*THOMAS MIDDLETON*, | AND | *WILLIAM ROWLEY*.} Gent. | *Never Printed before*. | LONDON, | Printed by *I.G.* for *Richard Marriot* in St. *Dunstans*. | Church-yard, *FleetStreet*, 1653.

Source:  
(Middleton and Rowley 1653, t.p.)

(183)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1656

Description: The title page from the 1656 edition of *The Sun's Darling*. The performance dating is from the Office Book of the Master of the Revels (ref 141).

Transcription:

THE | Sun's-Darling: | A Moral Masque: | As it hath often been presented at *Whitehall*,  
by | their Majesties Servants; and after at the Cock-pit | in *Drury-Lane*, with great  
Applause. | Written by {*John Foard* | and | *Tho. Decker*} Gent. | LONDON, | Printed by  
*J. Bell*, for Andrew Penneycuicke, | *Anno Dom.* 1656.

Source: (Dekker 1656, t.p.)

(184)

Document Type: Play Edition Title Page

Date(s): 1657

Description: The title page of Thomas Middleton's play *No Wit/Help Like a Woman's* was printed long after the demise of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. There is no recognition of the company on the page but Alfred Harbage tentatively attributes the play to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men (Harbage 1964, 102–3).

Transcription:

NO {WIT | HELP} LIKE | A | WOMANS. | A COMEDY. | BY | *Tho. Middleton*, Gent.  
| LONDON: | Printed for *Humphrey Mosely*, at the | Prince's Arms in *St Pauls Church-* |  
yard. 1657.

Source: (Middleton 1657, t.p.)

## Conclusions

This thesis has sought to present a chronological history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men based upon the empirical evidence of the documents that recorded its activities, and the information about its activities that can be discerned from the plays in its repertory. The company and the documents that refer to it have not previously been the subject of a full length study. Establishing the source documents underpinning the activities of the Lady Elizabeth's Men and considering them chronologically has been key to this project; the documents are primarily financial, legal, or regulatory in nature which makes them an objective witness to the activities of the company as they have been generated by those without an interest in recording its day-to-day activities.

In order for a playing company to operate effectively within the commercial playing world of London it needed a minimum of talented players and plays, playhouses, costumes, and stage properties. The Lady Elizabeth's Men started at a disadvantage compared to the other royal companies already in existence in 1611 because it lacked the use of a playhouse, as well as most of the other required elements. It is possible to see how, in its efforts to overcome these material deficiencies, the company's solutions eventually led to its own downfall. The resolution found to its initial deficit of no playhouse, no plays, and no costumes was to enter into a financial agreement with Philip Henslowe to use the newly built Hope, but this was a short-lived arrangement. Following the breakdown in the relationship between Henslowe and the players, the company left his playhouse but being unable to find a long term home suitable for a company with royal patronage many of the players left for other companies in 1616, leaving John Townsend and Joseph Moore to tour the provinces under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men but with an almost completely different set of players. They did not return to commercial London playing until 1622. It seems that despite having a high profile patron and some commercially successful writers providing plays the company was not able to overcome a set of specific obstacles to continuing commercial success. Lady Elizabeth Stuart was an important political figure; her marriage to Frederick, Elector Palatine had been a marriage to bring together the protestant Palatinate with England at a time when the country was still unsettled over religion. The playwrights that the company was able to engage were often highly

successful. Thomas Middleton, Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher all wrote for the Lady Elizabeth's Men; Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair* was even written for a royal performance. Despite such perceived advantages it appears that the company was not able to capitalise upon them. It seems that more than patronage and good scripts were required to succeed in the early modern economic climate.

The original patent document that set up the Lady Elizabeth's Men made provision for the touring activities that Townsend and Moore undertook following their exit from Henslowe's Hope. The company had always toured since its beginnings but between 1616 and 1623 they worked exclusively as a touring company. Documents arising from this prolonged period of touring have provided us with financial information that shows the geographical spread covered by the company; in the south-west the Lady Elizabeth's Men went as far as Devon, in the north the company ventured to Northumbria, and Cumberland, and its journeys south took them into Kent and Essex.

Besides commercial playing and touring activities the original patent document made it clear that the company was expected to present itself at court to perform for members of the Royal family at their command; this included the king, its patron the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, and at various other times her brothers Henry, Prince of Wales, and Prince Charles. Most of the court playing undertaken by the company took place during the first few years of its existence. Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick V, Elector Palatine in 1613 meant that the company was called upon less frequently following her departure to Heidelberg with her husband. It was not the departure of its patron that diminished its playing opportunities at court, but rather the extended period of provincial touring. Royal patronage was important whilst touring as the association of a royal sponsor made the company more attractive to audiences because of the implied enhanced reputation and status of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The provincial presence did however lead to an opportunity to play before the king in 1617 during his one and only return visit to Scotland when it entertained the royal court during their travels. Upon the company's return to commercial London playing in 1622 it was called upon to perform for Prince Charles demonstrating the company's connection with the royal family was still active.

The business model of London playing compared to that of provincial playing was very different. From the records of Henslowe's Diary we see that it was the financier who took much of the financial risk of the company whilst it operated in London. This explains why he was such a pivotal figure in the commissioning of plays as it was only through his financing that the company could acquire the plays it required to become successful in what was a crowded and mature market with established audiences. The company needed to compete with other already well-known and reputable playing companies. When the Lady Elizabeth's Men moved to provincial playing in 1616 it had to take on the financial risk of playing amongst its members; this financial reality perhaps goes some way to explaining why so many players left the company in 1616, leaving Townsend and Moore to tour with a group of almost completely unknown players. By the time the company returned to London in 1622 it once again required the help of another theatrical financier to help establish a commercial profile and to develop a presence in the city and Christopher Beeston, the owner of the Cockpit/Phoenix, assumed this role.

Chapters two and three explored the second strand of the research encompassed within this thesis; the establishment of the core repertory of the company, in order to gain additional insights into the creative and dramatic world of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. It was important to establish the veracity and objectivity of the source documents that help to build this repertory. Some sources such as Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama* were able to indicate plays that were thought to be within the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men but were not able to provide additional information to confirm their inclusion. It was necessary to examine other evidence that could be considered to be objective but that was also generated closer in time to the plays being considered in order to make firmer attributions.

Underlying this thesis is the idea that there are various degrees of reliability of evidence. Evidence that is generated by third parties, especially if it is of an official nature, such as financial records and records of control, is impartial; the record keepers were interested in the objective facts that they recorded to show how much a payment was for, and to whom it was paid, or in recording the names of plays licensed to a particular company, and collecting the fee for doing so. This makes these records an invaluable source of information from which it is possible to construct a narrative



history of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Circumstances however do exist which may make the reliability of the evidence questionable. The title pages of printed plays can fall into this category. The publication process was usually undertaken by people external to the company and so can be considered as independent, but the time that expired between first performance and publication means that an awareness of the possibility of some blurring of objectivity is necessary.

Some evidence is a step further removed from complete objectivity but has still been considered as reliable within this thesis. Into this category I have included the records of Henslowe's Diary. The reasoning behind categorising these documents as secondary evidence is that, unlike the financial records or the licensing documents, the company is rarely mentioned directly by name within Henslowe's records. It is only through the known relationships between players, financiers, and writers that a connection to the Lady Elizabeth's Men is possible. The information included within Henslowe's Diary is *prima facie* objective but the collaboration step required to link it to the Lady Elizabeth's Men makes it less dependable than information for which it is not necessary to establish relationships before a connection can be made to the company. Another category of evidence that often needs a collaborative step before links to the Lady Elizabeth's Men may be confirmed is that of plays in manuscript. These manuscripts do not always include author or playing company information but it is often possible through the identifications in the script to associate a play with a particular playing company.

It has been possible to identify 25 extant plays as part of the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men through these means (see Appendix 1). Chapter 2 considers this repertory divided into two broad categories of before and after the company's exit from commercial playing in London. This division shows there to be some difference in style between the two periods in London. The first period of London playing focuses upon comedies, which is in part due to many of these plays originating from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels. Upon the company's return to London there was a shift in style as tragicomedies and tragedies such as *The Changeling* were added to the company's repertory by Christopher Beeston who had been instrumental in bringing the company back to London and providing it with a secure playing house at the Cockpit/Phoenix.

During the intervening period of the company's absence from London between 1616 to 1623 it has only been possible to identify one additional play as part of its repertory. *The Spanish Contract* is only identifiable because of legal action taken against the company when it played in defiance of a local order by the mayor of Norwich and the play is no longer extant. This illustrates the difficulty of identifying the repertory of a touring company; the records that detail the company's activities in the provinces are not concerned with recording plays that the company undertook, but they do record the interactions of the company with local authorities in terms of payment, regulation of playing, and departures from compliance with the orders of town's authorities. From the point of view of constructing the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men the supposition is that the company must have travelled with plays already within its repertory and that were familiar to the players that remained with it.

One of the issues that this thesis seeks to understand is whether or not it is possible to determine if the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men shows a style that could be described as distinctive. Genre plays some part in this and the difference between the early and late repertories demonstrates that there is perhaps some degree of evolution of repertory over the life of the company even if there is not anything as specific as a distinct style. One explanation for the differences that arise is the nature of acquisition of some of the earlier repertory; the company was reliant upon playing dramas that had been conceived to showcase the strengths of other companies, such as the Children of the Queen's Revels. It is however possible to conclude that the company would have been prepared to only take on those plays that it was capable of performing. The nature of much of the early repertory comedy was farcical in its nature and depended upon the physical attributes and capabilities of players to deliver the physical comedy that was often called for. Many of the players were recent graduates of the Children of the Queen's Revels and would have not only been familiar with the inherited repertory, but possessed the skills necessary to perform the plays successfully. Such skills as physical displays of comedy, dancing, and sword play were all part of the expertise that young players would have developed and players with such skills would have formed the core of most companies. This would then appear to make the Lady Elizabeth's Men not uncommon amongst the other London-based companies.

Whilst comic talent seems to be a requisite within most companies the Lady Elizabeth's Men perhaps had standout comic talent within the company. As we have seen, at least two plays, *Cockledemoy* and *Greene's Tu Quoque*, draw attention to a particular character within the play to the extent that the play becomes known by the character name, rather than its original name. In both cases the role is that of a comic clown character suggesting that within the company there was a player who was able to successfully take on such a role.

Chapter 3 considers the established repertory in more detail. The use of doubling charts has been central to this investigation. Charts have been prepared for each of the plays within the defined repertory using a systematic method (appendix 2 for a summary of doubling charts). By identifying the saturation point, at which the maximum number of characters is on stage at any one time, meaning that they cannot double one with another, and then allocating other roles amongst the players, it has been possible to estimate the minimum size of the company. Differentiation has been made between male and female characters which allows for estimates to be made of the requirement for boy players, and where possible silent walk-on parts have been allocated to supernumeraries who could simply walk on stage to deliver some stage business and walk off again; such roles did not need to be undertaken by a professional player. Only seven plays call for a cast of more than 15, with the majority of plays needing no more than 5 boy players.

Some plays call for more players than this which has led to suggestions of a possible merger between the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the Princes Men. The title page of the printed edition of *Amends for Ladies* has often been cited as evidence that the two companies were merged but the evidence of the doubling charts shows that the necessity for players would not have been the motivating force behind any such merger, for this play at least. The Lady Elizabeth's Men was capable of performing the play within the limiting factor of player numbers. This is not to eliminate the need for both companies to share some resources. *Bartholomew Fair*, for example, has one of the largest player requirements of all the plays within its repertory and the Lady Elizabeth's Men may have had recourse to boost its number of players from the Prince's Men. This was a company which had been set up close in time to the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and shared many of the same problems of establishing itself in London. The evidence of court

payment shows that they were often made to members of one company on the other's behalf, suggesting that there was indeed some degree of cooperation between the two. This may have been by means of an informal agreement rather than as a formal merger between the two as later the two companies are seen to be acting entirely independently of one another.

Within chapter three the categorisation of the plays has been further refined to show which plays were inherited by the Lady Elizabeth's Men, and which were commissioned for the company, as well as to indicate those with an ambiguous history with the company. Again it is possible to see a development of the company's working methods. Individual plays are able to reveal some of the staging requirements of the company but when looking at inherited plays from a previous company's repertory it is not possible to attribute unique features to the practices of the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Inherited plays do however indicate the company's preference to perform certain genres of play and from these it is possible to see a preference develop towards the comedic.

The preference of the Lady Elizabeth's Men for comedy is also seen in its early commissioned plays. This bias is shown with plays such as *The Night Walkers* and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* but within these plays there is a development of the genre as they tend toward farce in many elements with improbable disguises and misunderstandings, and with a high degree of physical activity in the form of misjudged comedy fights. One of the possibilities that must not be overlooked when considering these plays is the influence exerted by Philip Henslowe over the company's financial position and ultimately its repertory choices.

The early London plays also show a distinct bias towards plays that are actually located in the city. Of these plays *Monsieur Thomas* and *The Honest Man's Fortune* are the only two set outside the city. Ben Jonson's play *Bartholomew Fair*, played at the Hope and then at court, is perhaps the best example of a city play but whilst it is unusual in its call for a high number of players, and for its unique stage setting of a fair requiring several tented booths for stallholders, the Lady Elizabeth's Men seemed to be attempting to win over a London-based audience with references to their city. The focus on London is somewhat ironic given that it had such an insecure foothold within the London playing environment. The plays that formed the basis of its repertory after the

company's return to London in 1622 showed a divergence from those of its earlier London residency. Comedies were still part of the repertory but tragedy and tragicomedy formed half of the Cockpit/Phoenix repertory. The location focus of the plays also changed as many of them were based in Spain, or in ancient cultures. In the same way as the early plays were brought into the repertory under the influence of Philip Henslowe, these later plays were introduced to the company by Christopher Beeston suggesting that Beeston, like Henslowe before him, was anticipating the likes and dislikes of his audience and directing the company towards that which he found profitable. Over its lifetime the plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men covered all genres. Some of the plays were inherited from other companies, and can give little insight into the company, but the remaining plays were written by 14 different writers, each with their own style. Plays were also written for different playhouses. From the known playhouses in which the company performed it is possible to say that during its first period in London it performed at the open air playhouses, but by the time it returned to London it was based in an indoor theatre. With so many different factors affecting the company and its workings it is only really possible to establish that there was an evolution of style, rather than a distinct style that remained with the company throughout its existence.

The playing company known as the Lady Elizabeth's Men was made up of a group of seemingly ever-changing players, and influenced by various providers of capital and management, writers, and a royal patron. Chapter 4 considered how these disparate, but connected groups, came together.

A total of 34 different players have been identified within this thesis as being associated with the Lady Elizabeth's Men from the documents that relate to the company (see Appendix 3). Some players had only a fleeting association with the company, whilst others were involved in its management in some way. There is no evidence of the part that John Townsend and Joseph Moore, the signatories to the founding patent document of the company, played in commercial London theatre before the founding of the company but they must have been active within that community to be allowed as signatories to a playing company with a royal princess as its patron. Of the two, Townsend was with the company throughout, whilst in London and also whilst touring. His name appears in court records, payment records, and on touring licences.

Moore's relationship with the company shows evidence of a break with Townsend whilst touring. By 22 April 1620 he was reported to have left the company during the previous 12 months to take up inn-keeping in Chichester. There is some evidence that suggests he headed up a break-away faction of the Lady Elizabeth's Men, as he played with a band of players in Norwich under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in February 1620 when he had reportedly already left the company. Before the breakaway evidence exists that shows Moore played a trusted role within the wider playhouse community. In 1617 William Herbert, then Lord Chamberlain, tasked Moore to take a letter to towns where players were known to perform to warn them of companies travelling on false licences and to dismiss them. Given that Moore ended up doing exactly this in 1620 it is possible that Herbert's trust was misplaced, although at the time it is an indicator of the esteem within which the company, and one of its founder members, was held.

It has been possible to establish the early members of the company close to the date of its founding through a bond signed with Philip Henslowe which brought much needed funds for the new company. The bond was not only signed by John Townsend and Joseph Moore but by ten other players. This bond demonstrates the fluidity between companies as at least two of these players, William Barksted and Giles Carey, came from the Children of the Queen's Revels. Shortly afterwards they were joined by Nathan Field, also a former member of the Queen's Revels. The inclusion of players from the Queens Revels provided the Lady Elizabeth's Men with trained actors who were also familiar with some of the plays that had been acquired for its repertory. They effectively graduated from a children's company to an adult company. It is scarcely a surprise that with such young players, and relatively unknown players such as Townsend and Moore, the Lady Elizabeth's Men were unable to provide the necessary finance to organise the company's acquisition of playhouses, and plays without the help of financiers.

The company was in London until 1616 during which time the composition of players remained stable. Following the grievance with Henslowe the company effectively broke up and left London to travel and play in provincial towns. The make-up of the company changed significantly at this point. When the company appeared in Coventry in 1615 Townsend and Moore were the only two players remaining from its

initial London playing period (ref 069). From this it may be concluded that the original London-based players found the idea of travelling distasteful. Nathan Field, who was considered to be the prominent player of the company, moved to the King's Men, a company that could be considered to be more prestigious than the Lady Elizabeth's Men. The movement of players between companies, from a children's company, to an adult company, and then on to an established company of high esteem such as the King's Men demonstrates an effective career path for players. The new travelling players were little known, suggesting that Townsend and Moore decided that their individual interests were best served by leaving London, so they gathered a new set of players around themselves and travelled and traded upon the prestige that the name of the Lady Elizabeth's Men brought them. Whilst travelling under the leadership of Townsend and Moore the company often found itself in conflict with authority figures in towns that frequently refused it permission to play.

The effective disbandment of the first London Lady Elizabeth's Men was a direct result of the company's deteriorating relationship with Philip Henslowe, its first financier. Without Henslowe's input of capital in the form of cash, playhouses, and plays, as well as the provision of costumes, the company would have been unlikely to have achieved the same success it did in its initial period in London. The financiers of the company were fundamental to its success. In many ways Henslowe shaped the creative endeavours of the company through his relationships with the writers that he commissioned to provide playing material for it. Similarly Christopher Beeston fulfilled the same role upon the company's return to London in 1622 when he installed it as the resident company in the Cockpit/Phoenix. The company's period under the management of Beeston was relatively stable in comparison to its previous experiences with Henslowe but only lasted until 1625 when the company was disbanded. The records of the Revels office suggest that the company was under the control of Beeston rather than the players. When Henslowe was the financier there was an attempt to allow the company some say over repertory decisions with writers providing copies of plays for its approval. There is no evidence of such activity during Beeston's period of financing. Whilst allowing the players only a small say in the plays that were performed Henslowe, and later Beeston, must have considered the individual talents available when selecting, or commissioning plays, for the company. Roles for players such as

William Baxter, especially known for his comic talents, would have been taken into consideration by commercially aware commissioners of plays who would have made a point of ensuring that such talents would be the focus for any company.

Writers played a less central role to the company. In many ways they were one step away from its day-to-day operations. From the letters to Philip Henslowe from Robert Daborne it is concluded that writers essentially worked for the financiers rather than the players. Players appeared to have some right of veto, but in practical terms it would have been hard to enforce once presented with a completed play. Henslowe took on the role of commissioning plays in order to fill his playhouses; this would have been a commercial decision based upon his experience as a theatre entrepreneur. There existed a triangular relationship between players, writers, and financiers, where much of the authority rested with the financier. The writers depended upon Henslowe, and later Beeston, to commission new material but they effectively worked on a free-lance basis. Robert Daborne was the only writer who came close to what could be described as an in-house writer, although Nathan Field did provide the company with at least one play.

As the company evolved into a touring company the financier element effectively disappeared. Here a different business model was in place as the company relied upon its own resources to secure playing opportunities. The assumption is that it took the plays that it already possessed in their repertory on tour. As it was no longer based in one physical location the need for an ever-revolving portfolio of plays was diminished, as was the need for new material.

The role of patron was effectively that of a figurehead. Lady Elizabeth Stuart played no part in the company's operations other than to add to it the status of being a royal company. With the establishment of the Lady Elizabeth's Men the number of royal companies raised to five, with each member of the royal family being the patron of a playing company. Her marriage took place only two years after the company's formation at which point she left England to live in Heidelberg with her new husband. Commercially the company took advantage of this by playing in the towns which Elizabeth and Frederick visited before they crossed the channel.

The personnel of the company had intertwined relationships. The company would not have been a viable commercial organisation without any one of these groups. Whilst



it is true that without the financiers the company would have struggled to obtain the necessary elements required to perform, if the players had been insufficiently talented they would not have attracted the audiences necessary for commercial success. Similarly if the writing of the drama performed was not of sufficient merit, again the company would have failed to gain a viable playing audience. The company was able to attract players and writers of sufficient proficiency and quality because they could call upon the finances of Henslowe and Beeston, and the prestige of an association with a royal patron.

Chapter five considers how the Lady Elizabeth's Men made use of physical playing spaces. In many ways the defining quality of the company was its failure to secure a permanent place of playing, especially in its early years. It was this circumstance that effectively led it into a relationship with Philip Henslowe, and later with Christopher Beeston. The acquisition of playing space caused the company to lose control over its dramatic output as it relied upon continued good relationships with its financiers. When this relationship broke down, as demonstrated by its interactions with Philip Henslowe the company was unable to remain in London. This was symptomatic of a wider failure to acquire the necessities of playing. Whilst a group of players had been gathered together under John Townsend and Joseph Moore this was insufficient to enable a successful company to operate.

Before entering into the agreement with Henslowe the Lady Elizabeth's Men had secured playing space at the Swan but this was a short-lived location for it before moving to Henslowe's Hope playhouse. The dual use of the Hope as a playhouse and a bear-baiting pit was in Henslowe's favour commercially but ultimately led to the company's exit from London. For the Lady Elizabeth's Men both of these locations were flawed; the Swan because of its age, and the Hope because of its association with bears resulting in its limited availability for playing and a loss of associated revenue.

As the company left London for the provinces many of its players stayed behind where they joined other, more settled, companies. The time spent touring by Lady Elizabeth's Men time was characterised by conflict with various town authorities when it was dismissed without playing but despite the unwillingness of some towns to allow the company to play there is some evidence that it was welcomed in the private homes

of the gentry and nobility. Francis Clifford, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cumberland welcomed the company to his home in 1612, and again in 1622 before it returned to the capital. The support of the gentry would have been important to the company, especially given the absence of its own patron who did not return to the country until long after the company's demise. Playing for such patrons and at court may be seen as a public acceptance of the prowess of the company.

In many ways the Lady Elizabeth's Men can be seen as having failed as a commercially-viable playing company in London, but such an analysis fails to recognise its successes. It may well have been unsuccessful at finding secure tenure of a playing house when they started out, but it performed in major playhouses on the South Bank, centre of commercial playhouse London at the time. Despite falling out with its main financier it was able to secure a lucrative touring practice where it traded on its royal status before a successful reintegration into London where it went on to play successfully at the Cockpit/Phoenix. Many of the players that the company attracted had previously been key players within the Children of the Queen's Revels, and went on to work at other more prominent companies suggesting that the talents and qualities of players with the Lady Elizabeth's Men was sufficiently strong to make these transfers viable. The company was trusted to perform at court, and was an attractive enough proposition to attract playwrights such as Thomas Middleton, and Ben Jonson to write for it.

The very ordinariness of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in many ways exemplifies the conditions that all but the most famous of the Jacobean playing companies faced, and in this is able to draw attention to the conditions under which all companies operated. The Lady Elizabeth's Men can be considered as the typical Jacobean playing company from their founding in 1611 until their demise in 1625.

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## Appendix 1: The Plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

### Plays Inherited from the Children of the Queen's Revels

1611	Amends for Ladies	Nathan Field
1611	The Dutch Courtesan	John Marston
1611	Eastward Ho	George Chapman; Ben Jonson; John Marston
1624	Cupid's Revenge	Francis Beaumont; John Fletcher

### Plays Inherited from the Queen Anne's Players

Match Me in London	Thomas Dekker
Greene's Tu Quoque	John Cooke

### Ambiguous Plays

1612	Chabot, Admiral of France	George Chapman;
1619	All's Lost by Lust	William Rowley

### Commissioned Plays

1611	No Wit/No Help Like a Woman's	Thomas Middleton
1611-33	The Night Walkers	John Fletcher; James Shirley
1613	A Chaste Maid in Cheapside	Thomas Middleton
1613-25	The Honest Man's Fortune	Nathan Field John Fletcher Philip Massinger
1614	Bartholomew Fair	Ben Jonson
1614	Wit without Money	John Fletcher
1615	Monsieur Thomas	John Fletcher

**Phoenix Repertory**

1622	The Changeling	Thomas Middleton; William Rowley
1623	The Spanish Gypsy	Thomas Dekker; John Ford; Thomas Middleton; William Rowley
1623	The Noble Bondman	Philip Massinger
1623	The Welsh Ambassador	Thomas Dekker
1624-38	The Sun's Darling	Thomas Dekker; John Ford
1624	The Renegado	Philip Massinger
1624	The Captives	Thomas Heywood
1624	The City Nightcap	Robert Davenport
1624	The Parliament of Love	Philip Massinger
1625	The School of Compliment	James Shirley

**Lost Plays**

1612	The Proud Maid	Anonymous
1613	Macchiavel and the Devil	Robert Daborne
1613	The Arraignment of London	Robert Daborne; Cyril Tourneur
1614	The Owl	Robert Daborne
1623	The Cra[fty] Merchant	William Bonen
1624	The Spanish Contract	Anonymous

## Appendix 2: Doubling the Plays of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

The following appendix is a summary of a process of analysis involving all the extant plays that can be attributed to the repertory of the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

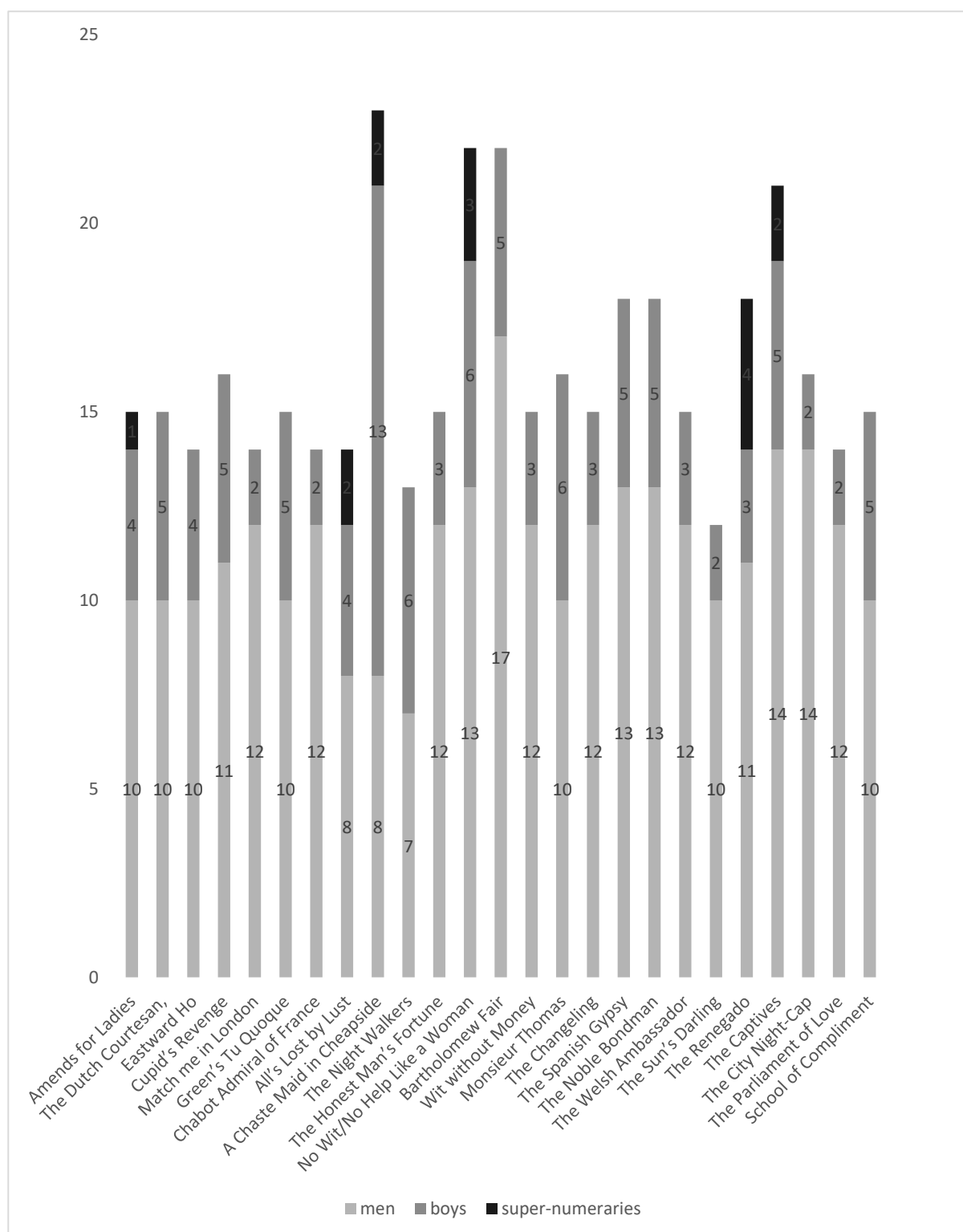
Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean in *The Queen's Men and their Plays* set out the necessity for production of doubling charts when ascertaining the size of a playing company (as discussed in full in Chapter 3 of this thesis). One of the key methodologies that McMillin and MacLean use identifies the establishment of the saturation scene; this is the scene in which the greatest number of players appear on stage simultaneously. This ensures that when each play is 'charted' scene by scene none of the characters in this scene is played by an actor who also plays another character in this scene.

There is currently no generally accepted critical procedure for the compilation of doubling charts; each researcher uses their own process. In this examination I have adopted the use of the saturation scene from McMillin and MacLean and then applied a consistent set of rules in order to compile a doubling chart. This examination of doubling charts is the first time that a systematic study of all of the plays of one individual company has been performed in this way. The rules are:

- Main characters are never doubled with another speaking part with more than five lines. The definition of 'main' characters is necessarily subjective, based on how many scenes and how many lines a character is assigned within the play.
- Speaking characters appearing in one scene have not been doubled with other characters in the same scene. This assumes that players will not have time to change costume within a scene.
- Speaking female roles have not been doubled with male roles. This decision has been taken because of the necessity of female roles to be played by boy players; for a boy player to switch between gender roles could be confusing for an audience, especially in a play which depends upon disguise of a female character as a boy as occurs in *The Night Walkers*. Practicalities of costume changes have also been considered here.
- Characters with extraordinary costumes or makeup requirements have not been doubled unless it is obvious that they will not be required to return to their extraordinary attire.
- Upon completing of the initial allocation of roles to players a review was undertaken to check if there were any further doubling opportunities that were still possible.
- Allocation of occasional silent parts, and parts with fewer than five lines, was undertaken only after all speaking roles had been allocated. The cutoff of five lines is arbitrary but usefully distinguishes a minor role suited to an inexperienced player. These players would be able to play several of these

insignificant roles within a play. If there were insufficient players available to take on these minor roles they have been allocated to supernumeraries. These would be men who were not regular playing members of the company but perhaps musicians or other servants of the company.

The data in the full set of Lady Elizabeth's Men's doubling charts produced for this thesis are summarised in the following chart. For each play it shows the allocation of roles between adult and boy players, and also where relevant the numbers of supernumeraries.



### Appendix 3: The Players of the Lady Elizabeth's Men

<b>Actor's Name</b>	<b>Previous Company</b>	<b>Next Company</b>	<b>Documents Mentioning Him</b>
Hugh Ottewell/Attwell	Children of the Queen's Revels	Princes Charles' Men	025; 076; 077
William Barksted/Baxter	Children of the Queen's Revels	Prince Charles' Men	004; 068
Thomas Bass	unknown	Queen Anne's Men	004
William Bee	unknown	unknown	152; 156
George Bosgrove	unknown	unknown	069
Walter Burrett	unknown	unknown	069
Giles Carey	Children of the Queen's Revels	unknown	004
William Carpenter		Prince Charles' Men	004; 068
William Eccleston	King's Men	King's Men	004; 068
Nathan Field	Children of the Queen's Revels	King's Men	015; 016; 017; 036; 066; 068; 089; 177
Robert Finch	unknown	unknown	069
Alexander Foster	unknown	unknown	004; 007; 008; 094; 140; 148; 168
Elias Guest	unknown	Queen Henrietta's Players	168
Robert Hamlen	unknown	Prince Charles' Men	004; 076; 077; 168
Hugh Haughton	unknown	King's Revels	069
Thomas Hobb	Duke of York's Men	King's Men	076
Thomas Hunt	Admiral's Men	Palsgrave's Men	004; 069
John Hunt	unknown	unknown	069
James Jones	Admiral's Men	unknown	069
James Kneller	unknown	Queen Anne's Men	069
Charles Martyn	unknown	unknown	069
Joseph Moore	unknown	Prince Charles' Men	003; 004; 054; 069; 168
John Newton	Prince Charles' Men	Prince Charles' Men	076; 077
Robert Pallant	Queen Anne's Men	Prince Charles' Men	068; 076
William Penn	Children of the Queen's Revels	Prince Charles' Men	076;
William Perry	King's Revels	Queen Anne's Revels	069
John Rice	King's Men	Kings Men	004; 068
William Rowley	Prince Charles' Men	Prince Charles' Men	076; 077
Henry Sebeck	unknown	unknown	083;
Antony Smith	unknown	unknown	076; 077;
Thomas Suell	unknown	unknown	069
Joseph Taylor	Duke of York's Men	King's Men	004; 019; 035; 058; 076; 077
John Townsend	unknown	King's Revels	003; 004; 069; 071; 083; 085; 094
Francis Wambus	unknown	Francis Wambus	127; 149; 150; 151; 152; 156; 157

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